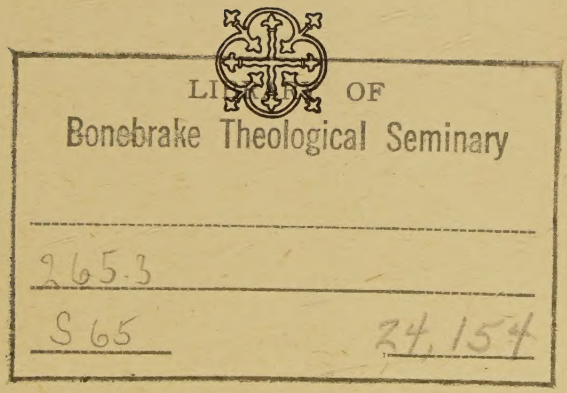
HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN THEOPHAGY

A SHORT HISTORY OF CHRISTIAN THEOPHAGY

BY
PRESERVED SMITH, PH.D.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TO MY SISTER

WINIFRED SMITH

with Gratitude and Admiration

PREFACE

On December 27, 1915, I read, by request, before the American Society of Church History, at its annual meeting in New York, a paper on "The Evolution of Luther's Doctrine of the Eucharist." In that paper originated the present study; for, with the understanding of the sacramentarian controversies of the Reformation, came the clear perception that the dogma of the sacrifice of the mass, repudiated by nearly all the Reformers, and the dogma of the Real Presence, repudiated by some of them, were in reality far more ancient than medieval scholasticism; that they were, in fact, the teachings of the primitive church, and that, pushing our inquiry ever further back, they had been derived by her from a pre-Christian, and from a very remote, antiquity. The idea of the god sacrificed to himself, that his flesh might be eaten by worshippers thus assured of partaking of his divinity, arose at the dawn of religion, was revived by the mystic cults of the Greeks, and from them was borrowed by Paul and implanted, along with the myth of the dying and rising Savior God, deep in the soil of the early church. Though foreign to Jesus, whose beautiful, ethical, and almost purely Jewish thought shines on us in its genuine

form only in the document known to scholars as Q — the source of the sayings reported by Matthew and Luke but not found in the other gospels — these doctrines appealed so strongly to the mentality of the early Gentile Christians, that they were rapidly adopted and became fixed in the ritual and creed of the church.

The subsequent history of the eucharist is chiefly the record of attempts to rationalize a doctrine that, after the first three or four centuries of the vulgar era, no longer seemed natural. In transubstantiation, in consubstantiation, in the various explanations of the modes of the real presence evolved by the Reformers, we see but so many efforts on the part of reason to grasp the mystery of the words: "This is my body." As, in the controversies following Luther's revolt, the matter received the most thorough discussion that it ever received, the period of the Reformation bulks large in the present work. After the sixteenth century, little that was new or important was said upon the subject. The Zwinglian theory that the bread and wine were mere symbols was silently adopted by most Protestants, by all, indeed, except a small band who consciously clung to whatever was ancient and impressive in ritual and to the "credo quia absurdum" in doctrine. Both among Christians and rationalists the matter ceased to attract attention.

There have, indeed, been a few modern histories of the eucharist by believers, but secular his-

torians have been content to let the subject drop as not worth study. In this they have been wrong; for, as Franz Cumont says in the introduction to his *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans,* the history of man's errors and failures is often as instructive as the history of his successes. The present study will be accepted, I hope, as a purely objective history in the field of comparative religion, written by one who has no propaganda to spread, and no cause to serve save that of knowledge for its own sake.

Though the manuscript was complete by the end of 1915, publication was postponed for various reasons. After keeping the manuscript for nearly a year, during which the brochure had the advantage of being read and occasionally corrected by several learned theologians — to whom I now tender my thanks — The Society of Church History returned it with the statement that they would publish part of it, but the whole was too long for their biennial volume. As I preferred to have it all published together, I sent it to Dr. Paul Carus who, with kind alacrity, promised to bring out the whole in book form as soon as peace was signed with Germany. The first two sections were given to the public in the *Monist* of April, 1918, but the rush of business due to the war, and the sad interruption caused by Dr. Carus's death, have postponed the publication of the whole until the present. In the meantime, I have continued to study

the subject and have revised the manuscript in the light of the most recent research. For assistance in reading the proof I am indebted to my wife.

PRESERVED SMITH

Cambridge
August 27, 1921

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I. PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA

Those who have attended the celebration of a mass have witnessed the most ancient survival from a hoary antiquity. There, in the often beautiful church, in gorgeous vestments, with incense and chanted liturgy, the priest sacrifices a God to himself and distributes his flesh to be eaten by his worshippers. The Divine Son is offered to the Father as "a pure victim, a spotless victim, a holy victim," [1] and his holy body and blood become the food of the faithful. The teaching of the church is explicit on this point. The body eaten is the same as that once born of a virgin and now seated at the right hand of the Father; the sacrifice of the mass is one and the same as that of the cross, and is so grateful and acceptable to God that it is a suitable return for all his benefits, will expiate sin, and turn the wrath of the offended Deity "from the severity of a just vengeance to the exercise of benignant clemency." [2]

All this goes back to the time when man was just emerging from the animal; it is the most striking of the many instances of the conservatism of religion. The further back we go historically the more religious do we find our ancestors; the story of progress has been one of constant secularization. But there was a prehistoric time when there was nothing that we would recognize as religion at all. Behind the savage culture

[1] *The Missal*: Canon of the Mass.

[2] *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, transl. by J. Donovan, 1829, pp. 156 ff.

that we know, when religion rules the tribes with a rod of iron, there must have been a period when the grandsons of the ape were accumulating their theological ideas. Their first concept was not, apparently, that of personal gods, but that of a vast mystery; it was the weird or uncanny quality of certain things they did not understand. Along with this was the overmastering power of tribal custom. They had the conservative instinct to the highest degree; as children and savages and certain neurotics [3] to-day, they felt an imperative need, the reason of which they could not explain, that things should be done in the ways to which they were accustomed. The real reasons, of course, lay deep in the laws of habit and imitation but, because they could not understand this, they gave their acts a mysterious sanction, the taboo. It was in this, and the related idea of "mana," both of them founded in the sacredness, i.e., mysteriousness, weirdness, of certain objects and acts, that the germs of all religions lay. In the earliest stages the ape-men were unable to conceive of anything very personal and definite as god. Not only was the conception of a Being "without body, parts or passions" impossible to them, but even an anthropomorphic god was too abstract. Nor was this period so remote as we sometimes think. Just as in Latin the word *sacer*, meaning both "sacred" and "accursed," retains the old connotation of "taboo," so in Greek θεός was used with a far wider significance than we should use the word "god." The fact of success was a "god" and more than a "god"; to recognize a friend after long absence is a "god"; wine is a "god" whose

[3] S. Freud, *Zwangshandlungen und Religionsübungen. Kleine Schriften zur Neurosenlehre.* 2d ed., 1909, 122 ff.

body was poured out in libation to the gods.[4] Nor was this mere poetry or philosophy; it was, to the speakers, literal prose.

This earliest stage of theology was totemism, at one time probably universal. The totem was a specially sacred thing connected, by some fancied resemblance, with the tribe — at that period Church and State in one. It was a sort of dreadful mascot; a thing, usually an animal, that was felt to be akin to the tribe and that could bring both bad luck and good according to the treatment it received. Ordinarily it was treated with reverence, awe and fear; it could not be killed or annoyed. But at times when things were going badly, or there was urgent need of stimulating the crops on which the existence of the people depended, or the bravery of the men or the fecundity of the women which were no less essential, some more drastic form of government regulation of totems was felt to be desirable. How could the tribe absorb the good qualities of the sacred thing; its "mana," as some of us, or "grace," as others would say?

Compared with the first mystics who brooded over the problem of union with the divine, Caliban was a gentleman and a scholar, the exquisite flower of a long refinement by civilization. Practically the whole content of their experience, as far as it gave them any suggestions of union, was food and sex. The "god" must be either eaten, or united with his worshipers in sexual intercourse.[5] Both ideas have colored the lan-

[4] G. Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, p. 26.

[5] See A. Dietrich. *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1910, pages 121 and the following. On sexual intercourse with deity in classical antiquity, see, for instance, *Alcestis*, 839; Josephus, *Antiquities*, Chapter XVIII, 3, 4. The analogy of sex in the union with God, witnessed by a thousand

guage and thought of all religions, including Christianity.

The eating of the sacred animal, or, later, of the god in the form of an animal, is the one with which we are at present concerned. The classic example of it is that found by Robertson Smith in the works of St. Nilus, a hermit who lived on Sinai in the fourth century of our era.[6] He tells how the Arabs would sacrifice boys to the Morning Star, but, when boys failed, would take a white camel, and after wounding it mortally, would suck its blood and eat its raw and still living flesh. Robertson Smith thought of the camel as a tribal god; but he was partly wrong; it was really only the raw material from which gods are made.[7] The animal was devoured to get its "mana," its strength, swiftness and endurance, and doubtless other more subtle qualities. For the savage thought of all the original character passing over with the flesh and blood. If bread could strengthen man and wine make glad his heart,[8] surely the brave, strong, sacred body of an animal could impart its own excellence.[9]

The eating of an animal or in some cases a human being in the same sacramental way, has been found also

"brides of Christ" (cf. Mark ii. 19; Eph. i. 6; v. 32) is carried out by Staupitz (T. Kolde, *Die Augustiner-Kongregation*, 1879, p. 291) and Luther (*Vorlesung über den Römerbrief, Scholien*, 206). On homosexual ideas in mysticism, cf. Pfarrer O. Pfister, *L. v. Zinzendorf* (Schriften zur angewandten Seelenkunde, VIII, 1910). E. Bethe, "Die dorische Knabenliebe," *Rheinisches Museum*, LXII, 3, pp. 438 ff, 1897.

[6] J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, 1903, 486 f.

[7] Murray, 35 f.

[8] Psalm civ. 15. These words were quoted by Luther as applying to the bread and wine of the eucharist.

[9] J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3d ed., *Spirits*, 1912, II, 138.

in Australia,[10] in Nigeria, and among North American Indians.[11]

But the totem was not the only divine being eaten. In the primitive sacrament of the first-fruits, the spirit of the corn was thus absorbed by its votaries. Thus in Wendland, Sweden, to the present day, "the farmer's wife uses the grain of the last sheaf to bake a loaf in the shape of a little girl; this loaf is divided among the whole household and eaten by them. Here the loaf represents the corn-spirit conceived as a maiden." "The new corn is itself eaten sacramentally, that is, as the body of the corn-spirit."[12] A similar custom is found in Lithuania.[13]

"In one part of Yorkshire it is still customary for the clergyman to cut the corn; and my informant," says Sir J. G. Frazer, "believes that the corn so cut is used to make the communion bread. If the latter part of the custom is correctly reported (and analogy is all in its favor) it shows how the Christian communion has absorbed within itself a sacrament which is doubtless far older than Christianity."[14]

Among the heathen Cheremiss on the Volga, when the first bread from the new crop of wheat is to be eaten, the villagers assemble in the house of the oldest inhabitant, open the eastward door and pray toward it. The sorcerer or priest then gives each a mug of beer to drain; next he cuts and hands to every person a morsel of bread. "The whole ceremony," says the

[10] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, 1910, I, 120; II, 590; IV, 23 ff.
[11] Frazer, *Spirits*, I, 18 ff.
[12] *Ibid.*, II, 48.
[13] *Ibid.*, 49.
[14] *Ibid.*, 51.

writer who has described it, "looks almost like a caricature of the eucharist." [15] In fact it is its crude prototype.

The Incas of Peru formerly ate bread and drank liquor in a manner compared by the Spaniard to the eucharist.[16]

The Aino of Japan also regard their cereal offering as an eaten god,[17] and the East Indians, Buru, call their sacramental meal "eating the soul of the rice."[18] "In all such cases," observes Frazer, "we may not improperly describe the eating of the new fruit as a sacrament or communion with a deity, or at all events with a powerful spirit." In many cases the rite was preceded by the administration of a purgative or emetic, the idea being to preserve the sacred food from contact with profane nourishment. Thus the Catholics take the eucharist fasting.[19]

In some cases the sacrament of the first-fruits was combined with a sacrifice or offering of them to the gods or spirits, and at times the latter element of the rite throws the earlier into the shade.[20] Here, too, the analogy with the mass is striking, as in the connection made by Paul between the feast and the unleavened bread, "Christ our passover sacrificed for us," and Christ the "first-fruits of them that slept."[21]

The custom of eating a god sacramentally was practiced by the Aztecs before the discovery of Mexico. Twice a year, in May and December, an image of the great god Vitziliputzli was made of dough and then

[15] Frazer, *Spirits*, I, 51.
[16] Prescott, *Conquest of Peru*, Chap. III.
[17] Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 52.
[18] *Ibid.*, 54.
[19] *Ibid.*, 83.
[20] *Ibid.*, 86.
[21] 1 Cor. v. 7 f; xv. 20.

broken in pieces and solemnly consumed. Acosta says that the Aztec virgins made the paste of beets and maize, which they called the flesh and bones of Vitziliputzli, and adored as such. Then, after a holocaust of victims, the priests distributed the dough after the manner of communion. The people said that they ate the flesh and bones of God. A similar mystic communion was held by the Brahmans in India, upon which Frazer remarks: "On the whole it would seem that neither the ancient Hindoos nor the ancient Mexicans had much to learn from the most refined mysteries of Catholic theology."[22]

At the festival of the winter solstice the Aztecs first killed their god Huitzilopochtli in effigy and then ate him. They made their idol in the form of a man, from various seeds, with bones of acacia wood. A priest, who took the name and part of god Quetzalcoatl pierced the image through and through, which was called killing it. Then they cut out the heart, which was given to the king, and divided the rest among the people. The name of the festival was "god is eaten."[23] As we shall see later on, at one time the Christian host was baked in the form of a man and stabbed by the priest.

When the Mexicans craved a closer union with the living god, they endeavored to attain it by cannibalism; making a man impersonate their deity and then devouring him.[24] A curious survival of communion with a god by eating his image is found among the Huichol Indians of Mexico, who have an idol carved from lava, bits of which they scrape off with their nails and eat.[25]

[22] Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 89.
[23] *Ibid.*, 90.
[24] *Ibid.*, 92.
[25] *Spirits*, II, 93.

The Hindoos furnish two further customs which are also found in Christianity. The Malas eat a goddess in effigy at the time of their marriage,[26] just as Catholics commune before wedding.[27] The Veddas of Ceylon make an offering to the spirits of the dead, which they eat sacramentally, believing that it will give them health and good luck. They even extend this inestimable privilege to their dogs, hoping that the heavenly food will make them better hunters.[28] Even so at the "palio," a horse-race held for centuries twice every year at Siena, which I myself have witnessed,[29] before the race the horses and jockeys are taken into a church, where the host is offered to the jockey to kiss and to the horse to smell.

But not all our examples of god-eating are to be found among "the beastly devices of the heathen." "In Europe the Catholic Church has resorted to similar means for enabling the pious to enjoy the ineffable privilege of eating the persons of the Infant God and his Mother. For this purpose images of the Madonna are printed on some soluble and harmless substance and sold in sheets like postage stamps. The worshiper buys as many of these sacred images as he has occasion for, and, affixing one or more of them to his food, swallows the bolus . . . . In his youth Count Hoensbroech and his devout mother used to consume portions

[26] *Spirits*, II, 93.

[27] Decree of Council of Trent, C. Mirbt, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums und des römischen Katholizismus*, 3d ed., 1911, 251.

[28] C. G. Seligman, *The Veddas*, p. 130, quoted W. M. Groton, *The Christian Eucharist and the Pagan Cults*, 1914, 8.

[29] I saw the race, but not the consecration of the horses. This was witnessed by my sister, Dr. Winifred Smith, of Vassar College. So in Spain, I am informed, bullfighters take the sacrament before they enter the arena. As the danger of death is almost nil, it is probably conceived as a charm to strengthen them.

of God and his Mother with their meals." The practice was officially sanctioned by a decree of the Inquisition, in July, 1903.[30]

It is a fact of the highest importance that the sacramental meal attained great prominence in many religions among the peoples of the Mediterranean during the centuries just preceding and just following the rise of Christianity. Such meals were in many cases interpreted by a refined culture in a way less gross than had been the case earlier. They were compared with the banquets given at funerals in memory of the dead; they were likened to the common meals at Sparta and elsewhere;[31] they were communion with the god simply in that he was the host and the worshippers his guests. Thus dinners of a purely social nature were sometimes held in temples in order to enjoy the company of the god.[32] But the fundamental idea, vaguely expressed but always present, was the old one, that the consecrated food was the means of obtaining obsession by a good spirit, of becoming identified with the god of the Mystery.[33] Caution had to be exercised lest bad demons would also enter the body of the communicant. So comparatively enlightened a philosopher as Porphyry[34] assures us that demons delight in impure meats and enter those who use them.

Fanatic Egypt saw nothing incongruous in treating her gods like cattle from whose milk or flesh divinity could be extracted. One of her Pharaohs achieved immortality by sucking the breast of a goddess;[35] an-

[30] Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 94. Mirbt, p. 400.
[31] P. Gardner, *Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, 110.
[32] *Papyri Oxyr.*, I, 110, edited by Milligan, p. 97; cf. Carpenter, *Phases of Early Christianity*, 251 ff.
[33] K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 196.
[34] Eusebius, *Praeparatio evangelica*, IV, 23.
[35] Dietrich, 101.

other took a more drastic method: "His servants," we are told, "have captured the gods with a lasso, they have found them and brought them down, have bound them and cut their throats and taken out their entrails and carved them and cooked them in hot cauldrons. The king consumes their power and eats their souls. The great gods are his breakfast, the middle-sized ones his dinner and the small ones his supper. . . The king consumes all that comes to him. Eagerly he swallows all their magic power. He becomes an heir of might, greater than all heirs; he becomes lord of heaven, for he ate all the crowns and bracelets; he ate the wisdom of every god." [36]

The blood of Osiris was a great charm, which, poured in a cup of wine, made Isis drinking it feel love for him in her heart.[37] When the blood could not be procured, its place was taken by simple wine, consecrated by this hocus-pocus said seven times: "Thou art wine and not wine but the head of Athene. Thou art wine and not wine, but the bowels of Osiris." [38]

From Persia marched forth Mithra to dispute the empire of the world with Christ. His warriors told how the hero Saoshyañt would kill a bull and of his fat, mingled with the juice of the white haoma, would prepare a beverage assuring immortality to all who tasted it.[39] That the bull was a divine animal goes without saying, for how otherwise could his flesh be the "drug of immortality?" [40] The sacramental banquet, however, was also a love-feast, done in remembrance of the

[36] *Dietrich,* 100.
[37] Griffith, *Demotic Magical Papyrus,* p. 107. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen und Paulus,* 1910, 204.
[38] Kenyon, *Greek Papyri,* 1, 105; Reitzenstein, 205.
[39] Dietrich, 102.
[40] As Ignatius called the eucharist. *Ad Ephesios,* 20.

supper celebrated by the sun before his ascension.[41] It could only be partaken of after long initiation, and was rightly regarded at Rome as "a magical meal." [42] So similar was it to the Christian Supper that Justin Martyr informs us it was directly imitated from the institution of Christ by evil demons, who, "in the mysteries of Mithra, set forth bread and a cup of water with certain explanations in the ceremonial of initiation." [43] Tertullian also noted the resemblance, so dangerous for simple souls, between Mithraism and Christianity.[44]

Attis, the Phrygian god who was born of a virgin, and who died and rose again at Easter time, also left his followers a sacramental meal.[45] His worshipper could say: "I have eaten from the drum, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have carried the earthen dish." From pictures we know that this latter was carried on the head in exactly the style in which, in the Greek Church, the holy food of the eucharist was carried by the deacons.[46] Another point of similarity between the communions of Attis and Christ was the use in each of fish.[47]

The connection of fish with the eucharist, made as early as the composition of the Gospel of Mark,[48] and witnessed by inscriptions in the catacombs,[49] is another

[41] F. Cumont, *The Mysteries of Mithra*, 1903, pp. 158 ff.
[42] Dietrich, 102. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, XXX, 1, 6.
[43] Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, I, 66; Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, 1912, 261.
[44] Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, 1905 ff, II, 227.
[45] Frazer, *Adonis*, I, 272 ff, 309 f.
[46] Dietrich, 103 f.
[47] M. Brückner, "Attis," *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 5 vols., 1909 ff.
[48] Mark vi. 38; Matt. xiv. 17; Luke ix. 13. That this meal was eucharistic will be shown later.
[49] An epitaph at Rome, dating 100-130, represents the eucharist by

case of the absorption by the conquering cult of the elements of vanquished superstitions. One cannot, indeed, explain it, as has been done,[50] by saying that "Jesus found at Bethsaida . . . a local pagan cult of the widely-spread fish-god, availed himself of it, and spiritualized it by means of an etymological coincidence between *lehem*, bread, *luhm*, fish, and *luhm*, breath or spirit." This is too uncritical of the documents, and assumes too much history in them. But of the connection there can be no doubt. Dagon, meaning "fish," was worshiped by the Philistines (Judges xvi. 23), and Lucian tells us of fish kept in sacred fountains from which they were ritually taken and eaten.[51] The designation of Christ as Ἰχθύς was not, as commonly stated, an anagram, but a genuine case of syncretism. He was called the Big Fish and his worshipers little fishes. Thus an ancient Christian inscription of Abercius says: "Faith shows me my way everywhere and furnishes my food: even a fish from a fountain, large and pure, which a chaste virgin captures." An allusion to baptism is often seen in this, though it much better suits the eucharist, or perhaps the ancient custom of administering the eucharist immediately after baptism. In former centuries eating fish was symbolic of eating Christ's flesh, just as now it is eaten by Catholics on fast-days, especially as a preparation for communion.

Rome, too, did not lack her sacramental meals. One of the titles of Jupiter was "dapalis," "he of the feast,"

loaves and fishes. M. Goguel, *L'Eucharistie des origines à Justin Martyr*, 1910, 279.

[50] Eisler, *Transactions of Third International Congress of Religions*, II, 352.

[51] Reinach, C. M. R., III, 46 ff.

and the priest who presided at the sacrifice was called "epulo," "feaster." [52] At ancient Aricia, near Rome, it is believed that loaves were baked in the image of the King of the Wood and eaten sacramentally.[53]

Something has been urged against the fact that the students of comparative religion have found the eating of a god in so many and diverse religions. Surely, it is said, one key is too simple to fit so many locks; the day of the vegetation god, killed and eaten and reviving, will go the way of the sun-god theory of Max Müller. When one sees the vegetation myth in Australia and Mexico, in Orestes and Hamlet,[54] he must be the victim of a monomania. But it is certain that many other religious ideas, whether true or delusive, the existence of gods, immortality, the power of witchcraft, have until recently been held all but universally: *semper, ubique et ab omnibus.* Communion with a god by eating him is just one of those ideas which arise naturally in a certain stage of culture, and, under myriad forms, survive in a hundred different societies. A similar one is baptism; the idea found in very many cults, that, by washing, a man can cleanse his soul as well as his body.

So in Greece we find the pre-Christian communion in many forms. After the great age of art and philosophy there was a reaction which Gilbert Murray has called "The Failure of Nerve." The hungry generations trod men down as they had never done before; there went up a great cry for respite from this

[52] Dietrich, 229.

[53] Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 95.

[54] Gilbert Murray, *Hamlet and Orestes*, 1914. "One of my friends has assured me that every one knew it before; another has observed that most learned men, sooner or later, go a little mad." He refers primarily to the Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus.

world, for salvation. To supply this need arose the Mystery Religions, of which Orphism is a good example, promising rest for the soul and union with God. But they kept the old forms to a great extent, particularly the myth and ritual of the god torn to pieces and devoured by his adorers.

Traces of this belief are found in the ancient Minoan civilization.[55] A god was there sacrificed in the form of a bull, possibly at some earlier period than we know in the form of a child.[56] In many an old Greek legend we see the original sacrifice and devouring of a divine animal. So common were these *motivs* that Greek has special words to designate them: σπαραγμός for the ritual tearing of the animal to pieces and ὠμοφαγία for the feast of raw flesh. Thus Acteon was a sacred stag worshiped at Plataeae and torn by adorers who called themselves does;[57] Hippolytus was a horse rent by horses;[58] Orpheus was a fox similarly treated by "vixens," as, quite rightly no doubt, his devotees called themselves.[59] In Orpheus the early church justly saw a prototype of Christ.[60] It is interesting to note that the worshippers frequently, if not always, called themselves by the name of the beast or god they adored. Thus the followers of Bacchus were called Bacchi and Bacchae;[61] thus the worshippers of Jesus "put on Christ." By eating the eucharist they became ἔνθεοι ἐν Χριστῷ just as did the votaries of Dionysus.[62]

[55] Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 26.
[56] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 489. On the omophagia in general, 478 ff.
[57] Reinach, C. M. R., III, 24 ff.
[58] *Ibid.*, 54 ff.
[59] *Ibid.*, II, 85 ff.
[60] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 474; Reinach, C. M. R., II, 83
[61] Farnell, *Cults*, V, 150 ff.
[62] Lake, *Epistles of Paul*, 214; Reinach, C. M. R., II, 105.

Zeus himself was sacrificed at Athens in the form of a bull. At this feast, called the buphonia, near the summer solstice, an ox was killed, eaten and restored to life in pantomime.[63] It is interesting to note that the feast — Δαῖς — became a personified divinity,[64] just as the Roman church, in instituting the feast of Corpus Christi day, near midsummer, has presented the mystery of the mass as an object to the adoration of the people. At Delphi also a bull, called Hosiater, or the Consecrator, and Isodaitos, "He of the equal feast," was immolated.[65] Plato doubtless had in mind one of these ceremonies when he describes[66] the killing of a bull in Atlantis, and the drinking of his blood mingled with wine. This was accompanied by an oath to deal justly, reminding us of the oath (*sacramentum*) that Pliny says the Christians took at their sacred meal.[67]

In the Eleusinian mysteries animals were immolated to Demeter and their flesh eaten on the spot;[68] there was also a meal of κικέων, a mixture of grain and water, but there is no evidence that this was regarded as representing the goddess.[69]

But of all the "mysteries" known to us, that of Dionysus bears the closest resemblance to that of Christ. The god of wine died a violent death and was brought to life again; his "passion," as the Greeks called it, and his resurrection were enacted in his sacred rites. According to the common legend the son of Zeus and his daughter Proserpina was given by jealous Hera to the

[63] Harrison, *Themis*, 141.
[64] *Ibid.*, 146.
[65] *Ibid.*, 155.
[66] *Ibid.*, 163; Plato, Critias, 119.
[67] Pliny, *ep.* 96.
[68] Foucart, *Les Mystères d'Eleusis*, 1914, 375 f.
[69] *Ibid.*, 378 ff.

Titans, who tore him to pieces, boiled his body and ate it with herbs. His heart was taken back to Zeus and Semele, from whom he was reborn.[70] As this doctrine was spiritualized his resurrection was represented in a different way and was followed by an ascension to heaven.[71] Thus was inculcated the doctrine of immortality; Plutarch consoles his wife for the death of a daughter by the belief in a future life as taught by tradition and revealed by the mysteries of Dionysus.

All this was enacted ritually in various parts of Greece. As is so often the case, the ritual preceded the legend, which was invented to explain a misunderstood custom, in this case the sacramental eating of a totemic bull,[72] or, in some cases, of a kid,[73] for the god inherited the ritual of both beasts. Thus it was celebrated at Delphi;[74] and thus in Crete. In all cases the animal was torn to pieces and a fragment of his flesh given to each worshipper and eaten raw as a sacrament, in order to impart to each some of the divine life.[75] At first this was doubtless conceived of as a purely physical benefit, but by the fourth century, B.C., the excellent moral effects of the initiatory feast are stressed. Thus, in a fragment of Euripides's Cretans, one speaks of "lengthening out a life of purity from the day when I became an initiate of Idæan Zeus, and a herdsman of night-roaming Zagreus [Dionysus], a celebrant of the meal of raw flesh."[76] At a later

[70] Frazer, *Spirits*, I, 12 ff; Reinach, C. M. R., II, 58 ff.
[71] Justin Martyr, *First Apology*, 54; *Dialogue with Trypho*, 69.
[72] Reinach, C. M. R., II, 58 ff.
[73] *Ibid.*, 96.
[74] Harrison, *Prolegomena*, 440.
[75] Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 16.
[76] Quoted, Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery Religions*, 1913, 257.

stage of Orphic theology, some offence was taken at the idea of killing a god, and the myth was changed to make the deity the sacrificer and communicant. Thus we find a god sacrificed to himself, and eating his own flesh,[77]— a striking parallel to the Last Supper and to the mass. It was not always in the interests of humanity to anthropomorphize the rite too much, for in Chios and Tenedos Dionysus was represented by a human victim who was subjected to the barbarous rite of holy cannibalism.[78]

Now all this seems to us such revolting savagery that it is hard to believe that it became imbeded in a religion of great moral purity and lofty idealism. Such, however, is the case. "The belief in the sacrifice of Dionysus himself and the purification of man by his blood," remained, according to Gilbert Murray, "a curious relic of superstition firmly imbeded in Orphism, a doctrine irrational and unintelligible, and for that reason wrapped in the deepest and most sacred mystery." [79] But the rite continued; for the wild worshippers roamed in the woods and tore to pieces and ate raw whatever animals they could cope with. "It is noteworthy, and throws much light on the spirit of Orphism, that apart from this sacramental tasting of blood, the Orphic worshipper held it an abomination to eat the flesh of animals at all . . . . It fascinated him just because it was so incredibly primitive and uncanny; because it was a mystery which transcended reason." [80] Euripides has transmuted the beast-

[77] Frazer, *Spirits*, I, 23.
[78] *Ibid.*, 24.
[79] *Bacchae*, note on p. 85 f.
[80] *Ibid.*, p. 86.

ly rite into immortal poetry. He thus describes the rending of the animals: [81]

> "Great uddered kine then hadst thou seen
> Bellowing in sword-like hands that cleave and tear,
> A live steer riven in sunder, and the air
> Tossed with rent ribs or limbs of cloven tread;
> And flesh upon the branches and a red
> Rain from the deep green pines. Yea, bulls of pride,
> Horns swift to rage, were fronted and aside
> Flung stumbling by those multitudinous hands
> Dragged pitilessly."

And through it all the maenads feel the divine presence, and adjure it, "O God, Beast, Mystery, come!" It is Dionysus who is the god and the bull, to whom Pentheus speaks, when he sees him, as follows: [82]

> "Is it a Wild Bull this, that walks and waits
> Before me? There are horns upon thy brow!
> What art thou, man or beast? For surely now
> The Bull is on thee!"

When the new religion was introduced into Italy, it ran a course for a time something like that of Christianity later. In the first place its votaries were accused, like the Christians, of celebrating holy meals followed by sexual debauches.[83] Later they were suppressed by the government.[84] That nothing might be wanting to make the parallel with Christianity, the word "sacrament," [85] originally a military oath, was applied by the Romans to the initiation. Indeed it is certain that that word had the connotation of consecra-

[81] *The Bacchae*, line 700; *ibid.*, p. 44.
[82] *Ibid.*, line 920 ff, p. 55.
[83] Livy, XXXIX, 8, 5, quoted Reitzenstein, 88.
[84] E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. XV. He says that the language of Tacitus in describing the introduction and attempted suppression of the Christian worship, is almost similar to that of Livy about the Bacchanalia.
[85] Livy, XXXIX, 15, 13; Reitzenstein, 66.

tion long before the rise of the Roman church. It was employed, or example, by Apuleius, for the visible sign of the spiritual grace vouchsafed to the worshippers of Isis.[86]

As men became softer and more fastidious, substitutes were found for the raw flesh and blood which were originally elements of their communion. Thus the sacred Ivy, regarded as an impersonation of Dionysus was substituted for his flesh,[87] and wine for his blood.[88]

The connection of wine and blood was as familiar to antiquity as it is to us through the eucharist. It was often an offering to the gods and a means of communion with them.[89] The blood was the life; who imbibed it absorbed the spirit. A Greek word for soul, θυμός, is etymologically *fumus,* the hot "steam" from blood.[90] The Romans sealed their oaths by drinking a mixture of wine and blood called *asseratum.*[91] Among the Hebrews, too, wine was called the "blood of the grape." [92] Offerings of bread and wine were made to Asklepios, the god of healing.[93]

It must be remembered that this tradition of the eaten god was kept up by the mysteries among the lower strata of society only. In the world of art and letters best known to us there prevailed an enlightened

[86] Apuleius, XI, 15, quoted *ibid.*

[87] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Rom.*, 112; Clemen, 258; J. Rendel Harris, "Origin of the Cult of Dionysus," *Bulletin of J. Rylands Library,* 1915, p. 119 ff.

[88] Justin Martyr, *First Apology,* 54; *Dialogue with Trypho,* 69.

[89] Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Altertum,* 1910, 45.

[90] *Ibid.*, 78.

[91] *Ibid.*, 83.

[92] *Ibid.*, 85. They also treated wine as blood, pouring it out at the base of altars. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites,* 1894, p. 230.

[93] Kircher, 92 f.

skepticism. Not many wise, not many noble, were called to salvation by the blood of Bacchus or of Attis. The expressed opinion of a Roman philosopher as to the Real Presence is very much what the expressed opinion of a modern scientist is now: "When we call corn Ceres and wine Bacchus," says Cicero,[94] "we use a common figure of speech; but do you imagine that anybody is so insane as to believe that the thing he feeds on is god?" The answer then, as now, was in the affirmative.

[94] *De Natura deorum*, III, 16, 41. Frazer, *Spirits*, II, 167.

II. PAUL AND HIS SYMMYSTAE

"The most excellent of the sacraments" [1] was borrowed by the Christians from the older mystery religions. That they attributed the institution of their rite to their founder was inevitable. Many of the classic myths originated as explanations of ritual, in the desire to show how Dionysus or Attis or Osiris had once done what their initiates now re-enacted.[2] The account of the Last Supper is but an etiological cult story, analogous to the Greek myths or to the Hebrew fable of the Passover in Exodus xii, designed to authorize a custom otherwise established in the earliest community.[3] "The Christ of Mark," says Loisy, "is like the gods of the mysteries; what he does is the type of what happens to his worshippers and what they must do . . . The idea and form of this institution were suggested . . . by Paul, who conceived them in a vision, on the model of the pagan mysteries." [4] In fact, as soon as any institution was established, firmly or otherwise, it was fathered on Christ, or at least on the apostles.

[1] So called by the Council of Trent, Mirbt, 226.

[2] Reinach, C. M. R., II, p. vi, says it is simply a matter of good faith to apply to the Gospels the same process which has been generally acknowledged as the correct solution of the classic myths. Some Christians now admit the likeness of the eucharist and the earlier theophagy. See *Catholic Encyclopædia*, and E. A. James, *Primitive Belief and Ritual*, 1917.

[3] So called by Heitmüller, R. G. G., I, 25, though illogically he tries to extract some history from the ἐρὸς λόγος. Long arguments against his position and that of Reitzenstein and Dietrich in Schweitzer, *Paulinische Forschung*, 152 ff, and by G. P. von Wetter in *Z. N. T. W.*, 1913, pp. 202 ff.

[4] Loisy, *L'évangile selon Marc*, 1912, 405.

Thus the mingling of water with wine was said by Cyprian to have begun by Jesus;[5] thus the self-communion of priests was wrongly said to have descended "as it were from apostolic tradition."[6] On the way the Gnostics attributed all their peculiar institutions to Jesus a long and instructive essay has been written by C. Schmidt.[7]

But though we see nothing historic in the Last Supper, and are convinced that Paul founded the eucharist, it is worth while asking what analogous conceptions, if any, prevailed in the pre-Pauline community about the sacramental use of food. We shall find that there are two such conceptions plainly discernible; the first that of the Messianic feast, the second that of spiritual nourishment. Both these are founded in the Old Testament. There, though sacrifice is a covenant with Yaweh, and a communion meal, there is no trace of the eating of a divine animal.[8] The Jews of the historic period had gone beyond this conception, just as had the "Olympian" religion of the Ionians, represented by Homer. But the idea that when the Messiah came he should eat and drink with his elect, is found in many places in the Jewish writings,[9] and doubtless considerably influenced the Christian supper. It is represented in the document known as "Q" by the marriage feast of the king's son.[10] It is also prominent in the Apocalypse,[11] though neither it nor Q nor the Jewish-Chris-

[5] Quoted in *Catechism of Council of Trent.*
[6] Council of Trent, Mirbt, 228.
[7] *Texte und Untersuchungen,* VIII.
[8] H. P. Smith, *The Religion of Israel,* 1914, pp. 39 f.
[9] Isaiah lv. 1 ff; lxv. 12 ff; xxv. 68; Enoch, xxiv and xxv; Test. Levi, xxiii. 11 and lxii. 14. Schweitzer, *Quest of the Historical Jesus,* 1910.
[10] Matt. xxii. 1-14; Luke xiv. 15-24.
[11] Apoc. ii. 7, 17; iii. 21; vii. 16 f; xix.

tian epistles of James or Jude or 2 Peter, know anything of the eucharist.[12] Thus also Luke makes Jesus say to his disciples: "And I assign unto you, as my father has assigned unto me, a kingdom, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom." [13]

The other idea which amalgamated naturally with the eucharist was that of a spiritual nourishment. "Man cannot live by bread alone," says the Deuteronomist, "but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." [14] The manna was to the Psalmist "bread from heaven." [15] Isaiah offered bread and wine and milk of a spiritual nature without money and without price.[16] "Those who eat me," says Wisdom in Ecclesiasticus,[17] "will always hunger for me; those who drink me will always thirst for me again." Philo, too, spoke of the Logos as the bread from heaven.[18] Nor do I doubt that this is the meaning of the fourth petition in the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our supernatural [i. e., spiritual] bread." The Greek word ἐπιούσιος is translated in the Latin versions *supersubstantialis*,[19] followed by Wyclif with "bread above other

[12] The idea that Apoc. ii. 17 refers to the eucharist is untenable. *Hibbert*, XI, 140 ff. Q has nothing even on the Passion. Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 1908, 233. W. Haupt, *Worte Jesu und Gemeinde-Ueberlieferung*, 1913.

[13] Luke xxii. 30. It is uncertain whether the original was in Q. Probably not, as Matt. lacks the verse, and the word διατίθεμαι is eucharistic.

[14] Deut. viii. 3.

[15] Psalm lxxviii. 24 f.

[16] Isaiah lv. 1 f.

[17] XXIV, 29. Many other references in Stone, *History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, 1909, i. 3.

[18] Quoted Pfleiderer, IV, 23 ff.

[19] In Matt. vi. 11. The translation of the same word in Luke xi. 3 is *quotidianus*, and this form is adopted in the ritual. Most modern versions follow this second rendering, "daily," which is also supported by F. S. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer*, 1891; F. Blass, *Grammatik des neutestamentlichen Griechisch*, fourth edition, 1913, § 123; Dobschütz, *Harvard Theological Review*, 1914, p. 313.

substance" and the Douai Bible with "supersubstantial bread." One ancient Latin manuscript in the British Museum reads "Panem verbum Dei celestem da nobis hodie." [20] evidently a gloss, but a good one. To express so simple an idea as "daily" the author of Q would certainly not choose a word so rare that it is not met with elsewhere, was absolutely unknown to the learned Origen [21] and puzzled early evangelists.[22] Moreover "daily" would be tautological, having just been said.[23] Further, the petition for bread would contradict the injunction given a little later, to take no thought for what to eat or to drink, but to seek first the kingdom. All the other petitions in this early Christian prayer are for spiritual blessings, and the intrusion of the mere bodily needs would be strange. Etymologically the word is compared by Liddell and Scott to ἐπηετανός, but it seems better to derive it from ἐπί meaning "super" and οὐσία meaning "substance," and to compare it with ἐπουράνιος, "superheavenly," in other New Testament writings.

The idea of spiritual nourishment offered directly by God to the believer is also developed in the Johannine writings and in what was one of their principal sources, the Odes of Solomon. Written probably by a Disciple of the Baptist at Ephesus very near the middle of the first century,[24] one of these poems (XIX, 1 ff) says: "A cup of milk was offered to me and I drank it in the sweetness of the delight of the Lord. The Son is the

[20] E. S. Buchanan, ἐπιούσιος, *Expositor*, 1914, p. 423.

[21] *De oratione*, XXVII, 7.

[22] The Gospel of the Hebrews rendered "to-morrow's bread." The Acts of Thomas (Pick, *Apocryphal Acts*, 1909, 144) omitted this petition altogether. Cf. Cyril's *Catechetical Lectures*, quoted by Stone, I, 91.

[23] Matt. vi. 25; Luke xii. 22.

[24] Preserved Smith, "The Disciples of John and the Odes of Solomon," *Monist*, 1915, pp. 161-190.

cup, and he who was milked is the Father and she who milked him is the Holy Spirit." [25] Elsewhere in these poems, which nowhere have any allusion to the eucharist,[26] milk and honey are spoken of as the mystic food of believers.[27] It is interesting to note in this connection that milk and honey were added to the first communion in the Monophysite churches of Armenia.[28] This would seem to indicate that feeding with milk was actually done as symbolic of the new and spiritual birth of the child. Sallustius[29] speaks of "feeding on milk as though we were being born again," in the ritual of Attis. Perhaps the same thought lies back of Paul's simile "milk for babes" (1 Cor. vi. 5). But it is plainest in the First Epistle of Peter, so called, in the words translated in our Revised Version: [30] "As newborn babes, long for the spiritual milk which is without guile." The Authorized Version in this case came nearer to the true meaning when it rendered λογικὸν ἄδολον γάλα "sincere milk of the word," provided only we write Word with a capital, and understand it of the Logos.

But neither the celestial bread nor the milk of the Logos constituted a ritual meal. It is practically certain, however, that the first Christian community had such prior to the institution of the eucharist by Paul.[31]

[25] Reading of Burkitt's manuscript of the Odes, *Journal of Th. Studies*, 1912.

[26] *Monist*, 186.

[27] J. Rendel Harris, *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, second edition, 1911, p. 80.

[28] Conybeare, "Eucharist" in *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

[29] "On the Gods," translated by G. Murray, *Greek Religion*, p. 193.

[30] 1 Peter ii. 2. On this Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, 156, and on similar thoughts in Egyptian religions, *ibid.*, 157.

[31] Achelis, *Das Christentum in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*, 1912, I, 172-83; II, 78 ff; Carpenter, 251 ff.

Precedent for such could be found in Jewish custom,[32] and among the Essenes[33] and probably also in the custom of the Disciples of John.[34] This meal was known as the "love-feast," and persisted in certain quarters side by side with the eucharist for many years. It is alluded to by Jude[35] and described by Tertullian.[36] Whether any traces of it can be found in the Gospels or in Acts, colored as these are by Pauline theology, is more than doubtful.

If we read the books of the New Testament in the order in which they were written, the first account of the eucharist is found in 1 Corinthians, written from Ephesus at about Easter time, probably in the year 55. There Paul speaks of its institution in words (xi. 23 ff) which, to bring out their literal meaning, I translate into unavoidably awkward English: "For *I* received over from the Lord that which also I delivered over to you, how that the Lord Jesus in the night in which he was delivered over, took bread, and having blessed it, broke and said: This is my body which is for you. This do in remembrance of me. In like manner also the cup after supper, saying, This cup is the new covenant in my blood. Do this, as often as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come. So that whoever eats the bread and drinks the cup of the Lord unworthily is guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a

[32] Josephus, *Ant.*, XIV, 10, 8; S. J. Case, *The Evolution of Early Christianity*, 1914, p. 340.

[33] R. G. G. I., 38.

[34] The Mandaeans or Sabaeans, the spiritual descendants of the Disciples of the Baptists, had a supper consisting of "bites and water." M. Brückner, *Der sterbende und auferstehende Gotheiland*, 1908, p. 47.

[35] Jude, 12.

[36] Tertullian, *Apology*, cap. 39.

man try himself and thus eat of the bread and drink of the cup. For who eats and drinks not discerning the body is eating and drinking judgment to himself. For this cause many among you are weak and sickly and not a few sleep."

It is an official dogma of the Catholic Church that these words should be taken as history.[37] The Catholics, less subjective than the Protestants, admit that Paul received a special revelation on the subject, only they say that it revealed to him exactly what really happened.[38] Modern Protestant scholars have felt the intrinsic absurdity of this and have argued that Paul could not have received a special revelation on this point, because it would not be in accordance with "the acknowledged principles of economy in the use of miracles," for Paul to receive by revelation what might have been learned by other means.[39] This old-fashioned point of view will have less weight with impartial scholars than the other argument advanced, that Paul uses the words "received" and "delivered" in his account of the death and resurrection of Jesus, which, it is commonly believed, he learned from the other apostles. But reasons have been put forward to show that here, too, Paul is really giving the results of his own subjective visions.[40] These very words, "received" and "delivered," were used in the Pirke

[37] Syllabus of Pius X, 1907, Mirbt, p. 409.

[38] Renz, *Geschichte des Messopfer-Begriffs*, 2 vols., 1901 f, I, 122.

[39] Lambert, *The Sacraments in the New Testament*, 1903.

[40] Preserved Smith, "A New Light on Peter and Paul," *Hibbert*, July, 1913. The conclusions here advanced have been accepted by Solomon Reinach who translated the article in French and published it in the *Bibliothèque de propagande*, Oct. 15, 1913. I do not deny the historicity of Jesus, nor the fact of his death upon the cross; but I contend that the specific accounts of the passion and resurrection found in the Gospels emanated from Paul.

Aboth, i. 1, of what Moses received directly from Jehovah on Sinai and delivered to elders.[41] They were also technical terms of the pagan mysteries.[42] If we will only listen to Paul himself we shall learn whence he got his doctrine: "The gospel which was preached by me is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ . . . When it was the good pleasure of God . . . to reveal his Son in me, . . . immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood, neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went up into Arabia: and again I returned unto Damascus. Then *after three years* I went up to Jerusalem to visit Cephas and tarried with him fifteen days." [43] Later, Paul was kind enough to instruct these Jewish apostles in the gospel he had received, though he dared not to do it publicly.[44] How he obtained these revelations in Paradise he tells elsewhere.[45] As he "received" the story of Christ's death and resurrection thus,[46] he was perfectly consistent in asserting "Christ was raised according to *my* gospel." [47] The whole thing was "God's wisdom in a mystery," [48] and this mystery itself was Christ: "He who was manifested in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached among the nations. . . [49]

[41] J. Weiss, in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1913.
[42] Clemen, 233.
[43] Galatians, i. 11 ff.
[44] *Ibid.*, ii. 2.
[45] 2 Cor. xii. 2 ff.
[46] 1 Cor. xv. 4.
[47] 2 Tim. ii. 8. The pericope, according to many scholars, is Paul's, though the whole epistle is not.
[48] 1 Cor. ii. 7.
[49] 1 Tim. iii. 16. The letter is not by Paul, but well expresses the primitive Christian idea.

The German Wrede has put us under a great debt by at last writing a biography of the Tarsian,[50] showing both how it was possible psychologically for Paul to evolve these myths and possible historically for him to foist them on the Christian church. But this is not the place to discuss the whole extent of Paul's mythology; all that here concerns us is his derivation of the eucharist. *A priori,* the possibility of his dependence on the Mysteries cannot be denied.[51] It has been proved from linguistic evidence, proved to the hilt, that Paul was saturated in the current conceptions of the Mystery Religions,[52] prominent among which was that of the eaten body of the Saviour God, who, in human form, should live, suffer violent death and rise again. He himself speaks of "the table of demons," i. e., of false gods, and of "communion with demons" as analogous to the communion with Jesus (1 Cor. x 21). Moreover, in this particular case the evidence of his derivation of his doctrine from a vision is peculiarly strong. Hardly any scholar, not under the double dogmatic prepossession of the historicity of the Last Supper and the improbability of revelations, has denied it. Among a vast number who have admitted the vision are Chrysostom, Osiander, Calvin, Gardner,[53] Conybeare [54] and Reitzenstein.[55]

[50] *Paul,* English translation by J. E. Carpenter, 1908. According to Schweitzer the book belongs "not to theology but to world-literature."

[51] Heitmüller in *R. G. G.,* "Abendmahl."

[52] Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen und Paulus, passim.* Augustine: *Contra Faustum,* xx. 20; Keating, 2.

[53] Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica,* second edition, p. 453, gives references for the older scholars. He here withdraws his former theory that Paul derived the Supper from the Eleusinian Mysteries, but says that Paul was influenced by mystery concepts in general.

[54] *Myth, Magic and Morals,* 251 ff.

[55] *Mysterienreligionen,* 50 f.

In fact the force of the language is overwhelming. The emphatic "I," the positive statement that the doctrine was received "from the Lord," ought to be decisive. But this is not all. Note that Paul uses the same word for that which he "delivered over" to the Corinthians, and that which was done on the night in which the Lord was "delivered over." Prof. W. B. Smith has pointed out that this could not mean "betrayed," as it is commonly rendered, but must mean "delivered up" or "surrendered." [56] This explanation has now been adopted by Messrs. A. Robertson and A. Plummer, in their Commentary on 1 Corinthians.[57] They state that the words in question refer "perhaps chiefly to the Father's surrender of the Son, and the Son's self-sacrifice may also be included." Better, possibly, to say that Jesus was himself, as a mystic concept, delivered over to Paul and by him so delivered over to his neophytes.

One more point requires exegesis before we proceed to the consideration of Paul's eucharist doctrine in general. The words "new covenant," here used first of the cup, were probably borrowed by Paul from the Jewish Messianic sect of the Zadokites,[58] who made a "new covenant" at Damascus, shortly before Paul's sojourn there. The Greek word διαθήκη commonly means "testament," and is so used by the author of the epistle to the Hebrews.[59] But as it is the equivalent of the Hebrew *berith*, and was used to translate this

[56] *Ecce Deus*, English edition, 1912, pp. 303 ff. German edition, 1911.

[57] *International Critical Commentary*, p. 243.

[58] Fragments of a Zadokite Word, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ed. R. H. Charles, II, 792.

[59] Hebrews, ix. 15 ff.

word in the Septuagint,[60] "covenant" is almost certainly the true meaning of the word here.[61]

What is Paul's understanding of the words "This is my body?" It is certain that he took them literally. The "*hoc est corpus meum*" which has been decisive for the Catholic church, and which, Luther declared, was "too strong" for him, meant exactly what it said. The reason why many Protestants have maintained the contrary is simply that they believed it impossible themselves. Of course it is impossible — but that does not mean that Paul did not believe it. Kirsopp Lake puts the point aptly: "Much of the controversy between Catholic and Protestant theologians has found its center in the doctrine of the eucharist, and the latter have appealed to primitive Christianity to support their views. From their point of view the appeal fails; the Catholic doctrine is much more nearly primitive than the Protestant. But the Catholic advocate in winning his case has proved still more: the doctrine which he defends is not only primitive but pre-Christian." [62] And again: "It is necessary to insist that the Catholic is much nearer to early Christianity than the Protestant." [63]

The part of the text stressed by those who wish to make the rite merely commemorative is, "Do this in remembrance of me." Let us hear an expert on the subject: "Frankly," says Reitzenstein,[64] "I can never interpret these words of a mere commemorative meal, such as the Greek cult of the dead knows. The whole

[60] E. g., Job xxxi. 1.
[61] Dibelius, *Das Abendmahl*, 1911, 76 ff.
[62] Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 215.
[63] *H. T. R.*, 1914, p. 429.
[64] *Mysterienreligionen*, 51.

sacramental teaching which Paul adds immediately, contradicts that interpretation. The words can be better understood in a mystical sense analogous to that of an approximately contemporary narrative in a magic text in which Osiris gives Isis and Horus his blood to drink in a cup of wine, in order that they may not forget his death, but must seek him in yearning plaint, until he again becomes alive and unites with them." This then explains also the words "ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come." If the eucharist be regarded as analogous to the meals held in memory of dead friends by the Greeks, it must be recognized that these meals, also, were sacrificial.[65]

In the same sense must be read the words that he who eats and drinks unworthily, not discerning the body, eats and drinks judgment (or "damnation") to himself. The meaning is so clear that Mr. Scott is able to say that practically all commentators agree that the phrase refers to the failure on the part of the worshipper to see that the bread represented the body of Christ.[66] "Behind these words," says Bousset quite rightly, "we catch glimpses of definitely sacramental feeling, the belief in the marvelous virtue of sacred food, for weal or woe." [67] How perfectly crude were Paul's ideas of this magical effect is brought out in verse 30, where he attributes the prevalence of sickness and death among his converts to the misuse of the holy food. But the benefits of the Christian mysteries did not go the length of guaranteeing salvation irrespective of conduct. Paul devotes the best part of a

[65] Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, 214.

[66] *Expositor*, August, 1915, 182 ff. He himself, however, proposes that the body here means "fellowship," and "failing to discern it" means being unbrotherly.

[67] *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1906 f, ed. J. Weiss, *ad loc.*

chapter to the confutation of his belief which had evidently gained currency among the Corinthians.[68] Indeed some of them turned their eucharists into drunken orgies.[69] Whether the abominable sexual disorders among them [70] originated in these debauches, cannot be determined. Somewhat later the accusations were made against the Christians that they united "Thyestean banquets and Oedipean intercourse" at their meetings.[71]

Almost all that Paul says implies his belief that bread and wine were body and blood of Christ. Thus (1 Cor. x. 16): "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a sharing of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a sharing of the body of Christ?" [72] If we ask *how* he conceived this, the answer must be that he never raised the question of mode, but that he appears to have assumed the reality of his contention with a literalness far surpassing that of the Fourth Lateran Council. In classical antiquity symbol and reality were not separated as we separate them.[73] To Greek philosophy words were things, and that was its greatest weakness. So the personification of bread, wine, war and love as Ceres, Bacchus, Mars and Venus seems to us mere figure of speech, but to the ancients implied a good deal more. Even so a child will now say of her doll "This is my baby," and

[68] 1 Cor. x; Lake, *Earlier Epistles*, 200 and 213.
[69] 1 Cor. xi. 21.
[70] 1 Cor. v.
[71] *R. G. G.*, I, 633. "Nachapostolisches Zeitalter" by Knopf.
[72] Lake's translation.
[73] Bergh van Eysinga, *Radical Views about the New Testament*, 1912, 104. Ramsay in *Expository Times*, XXI, 516. Harnack makes the same remark. "At that time 'symbol' denoted a thing which, in some way, really is what it signifies." *Dogma*, Eng., II, 144. Cf. also IV, 289, n. 2, and Loofs in *Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, 3d ed., I, 58.

if you insist that it is not her baby, but only the symbol of one, will not be convinced, and will even begin to cry if you press the point. So to the primitive Christian the breed and wine simply *were* the body and blood of his Savior; words could not make it plainer to him than that. They just *were*.

This belief of Paul implies the other one held by the Catholic Church that the eucharist is a sacrifice. He never states this with equal clearness, but he assumes it. Indeed it could hardly be otherwise. It is probable *a priori* because it was so in the mystery religions he knew. It is probably *a posteriori* because it can be proved that other Christians of the first century, e. g., Clement of Rome, so regarded it. But it is not entirely a matter of inference. Conybeare correctly points out that the germ of the idea, at least, is found in the words, "body, *which is for you*," and (in the Gospels), "blood, *poured out for you*." [74] Paul also speaks in one breath of "keeping the feast" and of "Christ our passover that hath been sacrificed for us." [75] Thus, further, he compares the holy bread with the sacrifices of Israel, which gave the Jews "communion with the altar," [76] and with the things which the heathen sacrificed to devils: "Ye cannot," says he, "partake of the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils; ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of devils." [77] In this verse, which incidentally furnishes invaluable proof that Paul was familiar with the sacrificial meals of the pagan mysteries, the Catholics rightly see a clear support to their doctrine of the

[74] Conybeare, "Eucharist," E. B.
[75] 1 Cor. v. 7.
[76] 1 Cor. x. 17 f.
[77] I Cor. x. 21. Srawley, in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 544.

sacrifice of the mass.[78] The idea here is the same as that expressed in the Pseudo-Clementine Recognitions, that he who worships pagan gods, or tastes meat sacrificed to them has communion with demons.[79] Further the words "This *do* in remembrance of me" had the connotation in both Greek and Latin (ποιεῖτε, *facite*) of "doing sacrifice." [80]

Indeed it was inevitable that the communions should be regarded as the counterpart of sacrifices, both Jewish and pagan.[81] And in the later developments of both religions, Paul would find prepared for him the idea of "spiritual and bloodless sacrifices," a phrase soon borrowed to denote the eucharist. According to the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs the angels offer such sacrifices to God.[82] In the Hermetic literature the same phrase λογικὴ θυσία is applied to the offering brought by Tat to his father Hermes.[83] The victim here thought of was the Logos,[84] just as in similar words about Isis the victim offered to the goddess was herself.[85] And this victim was represented by the body of the worshipper, a comparison also made by Livy in describing the Bacchanalia.[86] All this serves to illuminate Paul's injunction to the Romans (xii. 1) to present their bodies to God as a spiritual sacrifice. The allusion is not directly to the eucharist but is from a circle of ideas closely analogous to that of the sacrifice

[78] Council of Trent, Mirbt, 242.
[79] II, 71. Kennedy, 273.
[80] Conybeare in E. B., "Eucharist." Renz, I, 152. Cajetan, quoted below; Stone I, 9. The same double meaning is in Hebrew עשה.
[81] Conybeare, *Myths, Morals and Magic*, 252.
[82] Test. Levi, III, 6.
[83] *Corpus Hermeticum*, XIII. 18; Reitzenstein, *Mysterienreligionen*, 35, 88.
[84] *Ibid.*
[85] *Ibid.*, p. 91.
[86] Livy, XXXIX, 10, 7; Reitzenstein, p. 88.

of the communion. It is expressed more clearly in 1 Peter ii. 5.

Other passages in the Pauline epistles [87] doubtless have the eucharistic doctrine as a background, but they are too vague, apart from one in Colossians, to be discussed presently, to be of importance for our present purpose.

It will be objected that if Paul really introduced a new and pagan rite into Christianity, it would have been withstood violently by the Jewish Christians and especially by the previous apostles.[88] To this the answer is that he really was so opposed and on this very point. Since F. C. Baur,[89] few church historians have realized the tremendous strain that existed between the Jerusalem community and the Apostle of the Gentiles. It became so virulent that when Mark wrote his gospel, entirely along Pauline lines,[90] he could find scarcely anything to say about Peter save that he had denied his Lord and that Christ had called him Satan.[91] When, on the other hand, the Jewish faction expressed itself, it was to brand Paul as "a false apostle and a liar," [92] and, "Balaam, who taught the children of Israel to eat things sacrificed to idols and to commit

[87] 1 Cor. xii. 13; Galatians iii. 6-26; Romans iv. 25 to v. 9; Eph. ii. On these see B. W. Bacon in *Harvard Theological Review*, 1915, 505 ff. He finds not only the Pauline epistles but the Gospels "polarized" about the two sacraments of baptism and the supper.

[88] Schweitzer, *Paulinische Forschung, Einleitung.*

[89] *Paul*, English translation, 1876, Introduction and Part I, *passim.* On this, Schweitzer, *Paulinische Forschung*, 10 and 194. Cf. further, *Hibbert*, 1913, 737 ff.

[90] On Mark's Paulinism, Loisy, *Les évangiles synoptiques*, I, 25, 116; B. W. Bacon, *The Beginnings of the Gospel Story*, 1909, pp. xxv ff. Harnack, *Sayings of Jesus*, 248. The theory, originating with Papias, that Mark represents Peter, has been exploded.

[91] Mark viii. 31-34; xiv. 66-72.

[92] Apocalypse ii. 2; the allusion to Paul has been recognized by Renan and many others.

fornication." [93] Not only the Jews but the disciples of John at Ephesus and Damascus anathematized him as the perverter of their law, "the man of scoffing." [94] That the great schism in the early church does not occupy a still more important place in the New Testament is due partly to the fact that Peter and Paul apparently divided the field into two spheres of influence, the Jerusalem apostles agreeing, for the sake of a tribute, to allow Paul to preach what he wished to the Gentiles.[95] It is also due in part to the complete triumph, after the destruction of Jerusalem, of the Pauline faction and to the desire of irenic historians like Luke to smooth everything over and make all appear according to Paul's gospel from the beginning.[96]

As to the eucharist, though there was opposition, its adoption was made easier to the Jewish Christians by the fact that they already had a common meal with which it was soon identified. This "love-feast," as we know from Jude, Tertullian, and other sources, continued to the second century at least.[97] The difference of opinion among scholars as to whether it was identical with or different from the eucharist, is doubtless due to the fact that the two, at first distinct, were gradually merged. It is noteworthy that the purely Jewish Christian literature, so far as it has survived in the New Testament — namely Q, James, Jude, 2 Peter, and the Apocalypse — says nothing of the great rite of the Gentile Church. Nor — and this is very signi-

[93] Apocalypse ii. 14. The reference is to the doctrine of 1 Cor. x. Spiritual fornication, or idolatry, is meant.

[94] In the recently discovered *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*, cf. G. Margoliouth in *Expositor*, Dec. 1911 and March 1912.

[95] Galatians ii. 7. Conybeare, *Myth, Magic and Morals*, 11. *Hibbert*, 1913, pp. 748 ff.

[96] *Hibbert*, 757. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, 158 f.

[97] Conybeare, "Agape" in *Encyclopædia Brit.*

ficant [98] — does the Shepherd of Hermas, one of the earliest Roman Christian writings. Little later the Didache,[99] in giving an account of the eucharist, carefully refrains from speaking of the Last Supper, of the body or blood or of the sacrifice of the cross. Instead of the words of institution, it recommends a simple prayer connecting the cup with the "vine of David."

A somewhat stronger opposition is probably seen in the Epistle to the Hebrews. O. Holtzmann has recently pointed out in this book a polemic against the eucharist.[100] Other scholars [101] have seen reference to the eucharist without polemic, and still others [102] have denied that there are any references at all. The verses which Holtzmann relies on are xiii. 9 f: "Be not carried away by diverse and strange teachings: for it is good that the heart be stablished by grace, not by foods wherein they that occupied themselves were not profited. We have an altar of which they have no right to eat which serve the tabernacle." This seems to agree well with the interpretation of Holtzmann, and it is on the whole supported by other verses in the epistle. Thus in vi. 2, the writer speaks of baptism and laying on of hands but omits the eucharist. More striking is ix. 9: "gifts and sacrifices which cannot, as touching the conscience, make the worshiper perfect, being only, with meats and drinks and divers washings, carnal ordinances." The reference is, of course, to the old dispensation, but through it the author seems

[98] Réville, *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, LVI, 26.
[99] IX, 10; Gardner, *Exploratio Evan.*, 458; *Religious Experience of Paul*, 119, etc.
[100] *Z. N. T. W.*, 1909, 251-60, against him, Goguel, 219.
[101] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, V. 543.
[102] Lambert, 391.

to hit at the new ceremonialism. Again, the insistence in x, 12 that Jesus was sacrificed once only for our sins seems to read almost like a Protestant polemic against the repeated sacrifice of the mass. The Paulinists also seem to be scored in the verse against those who have counted the blood of the covenant a common thing (xii. 29). The verse "forget not to do good and to communicate," refers, naturally, not to communion but to giving to the poor, as in Romans xv. 26, 2 Cor. ix. 13.

One other passage in Paul has been left for discussion until now, because it seems to refer to those who opposed his eucharist doctrine. I mean Col. ii. 16 f: "Let no man therefore judge you in food or in drink, or in respect to a feast day or a new moon or a sabbath day: which are but a shadow of things to come; but the body is Christ's."

The Synoptic gospels adopt the Pauline view entire. I will spare my reader the exhibition of the texts relating to the Last Supper in parallel columns, and the long comparison of them, with the purpose of discovering what is historic or original in them. All such attempts have definitely failed. Those who favor Mark and those who prefer Luke,[103] cannot show that there is anything but Paul in the lesson of the narratives. The words attributed to Jesus, are, says Loisy, "the doctrine of Paul and are simply incomprehensible as addressed by Jesus to his disciples on the day of his death." [104] Mark did not need to copy them from 1 Corinthians, for the usage had become established at Rome when he wrote. His omission of the Pauline

[103] As Heitmüller, and Bacon, *H. T. R.*, V, 322 ff.
[104] *L'évangile selon Marc*, 403.

words "Do this in remembrance of me" has no significance, for they seemed to Mark implied, or, as Germans would say, *selbstverständlich*. Schweitzer and others have seen in the verse added by Mark, in which Jesus says that he will no more drink of the fruit of the vine until he shall drink it new in the kingdom of God, a genuine reminiscence. This, however, is untenable; for the idea here is also Pauline, closely similar to that of 1 Cor. xi. 26.

There are at least three other allusions to the eucharist in Mark besides the account of its institution. The first of these of which I shall speak is positive proof that words about the sacrament could be attributed to Jesus, though he could not possibly have spoken them. When the sons of Zebedee asked for the chief places in Christ's kingdom, he replied (x. 38). "Can ye drink of the cup that I drink of and be baptized with the baptism that I am baptized with?" This joining of the cup and baptism is surely a figurative allusion to the two Christian sacraments. But as the content of the pericope is a prophecy of the death of James and John, a *vaticinium ex eventu*, the allusion to the eucharist placed in Jesus's mouth is also certainly later than his time.

From the earliest days it has been recognized that the miraculous feeding of the multitudes is a symbol of the spiritual nourishment of mankind by the communion bread. John, the first commentator on the Synoptics, so took it, and joined to it his version of the sacramental words attributed to Christ.[105] How carefully the symbolism is carried out is shown in one nar-

[105] Loisy, *L'évangile selon Marc*, 191 ff; 225 ff, to Mark vi. 32 ff and viii. 1 ff. Cf. John vi.

rative of Mark by the seating of the people in groups, as was done in the early church, and in his other narrative by the instructions to pick up the fragments. This may be compared with the meticulous instructions given by Tertullian,[106] and followed in the Roman Church to-day, to let none of the precious body of the Lord be left on the floor, if dropped.

The use of fish in connection with the eucharist at Rome where Mark wrote has been noticed above. The reason for his repetition of substantially the same miracle is probably to be found in his use of sources, though it has been conjectured that he wished to symbolize the callings of the Jews and Gentiles respectively.

Matthew and Luke add nothing on this subject to Q and Mark. In Luke, however, we have an interesting textual problem on which I believe I can throw light. Some manuscripts,[107] headed by D, omit the words (xxii. 19b-20): "given for you. Do this in remembrance of me. And in like manner the cup, after supper, saying, This cup is the covenant in my blood, which is poured out for you." The textual evidence together with "the suspicious resemblance of this passage to 1 Corinthians" led Westcott and Hort to bracket it as an interpolation. The words are evidently taken from Paul, but as it is just as possible that Luke borrowed them as that his copyist did, and as they are present in most of the decisive authorities, they are retained by Von Soden and regarded as genuine by Jülicher, Cremer, Clemen, Schweitzer, Lambert, and others.[108] If, then, they were in the original,

[106] *De corona mil.*, 3.

[107] Besides D, the old African and Italic Latin versions omit them, and Tatian changes the order of words.

[108] Lambert, 245.

why does the Codez Bezae (D) omit them? The answer is this: The reviser of D (or rather, probably the scribe of an earlier manuscript he copies), was from Asia Minor,[109] probably from Ephesus, at which place there was the strongest opposition both to Paul and to his eucharistic doctrine. The Disciples of John there, as is proved by the Odes of Solomon [110] and the Johannine writings, presently to be discussed, refused to take the eucharist bread or to recognize it as the flesh of Christ. Even as late as the second century the Docetae of Asia Minor, probably an offshoot of the Johannites, took the same position.[111] Now the reviser of the manuscript represented by D and the Latins did not dare to omit the story of the institution as a whole, but he did delete the words implying a sacrifice and the command to repeat. Like the Fourth Evangelist later he hoped thus to keep the spiritual lesson and to avoid the ritual repetition.

Acts occasionally mentions the celebration of the Supper (ii. 42; xx. 7), but as it adds nothing to our knowledge, save to show that it and Paul's interpretation of it were thoroughly established in the community and at the late date at which Luke wrote, the book need not be further noticed.

Of the New Testament writings there remain to be discussed only the Gospel and First Epistle of John. On their teaching the most extraordinary diversity of opinion has prevailed. Some scholars have denied that the Gospel refers to the eucharist at all. Others have seen in it only an intensification and emphasis of

[109] Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*, 151 ff.

[110] Preserved Smith, "The Odes of Solomon and the Disciples of John," *Monist*, April 1915, pp. 186 f.

[111] Ignatius *ad Smyrn.*, 6.

the sacramental theory of Paul. Many think that John "spiritualizes" Paul's teaching, though without saying definitely how. The data are these: (1) John omits the account of the Last Supper and substitutes for it foot-washing, with a probable allusion to baptism. (2) In the sixth chapter he joins to the narrative of the miraculous feeding a long discourse of Jesus on the necessity of eating his flesh and drinking his blood: "I am the bread of life. He who cometh unto me shall never hunger and he who believeth on me shall never thirst." "I am the living bread coming down from heaven. If any one eat of this bread he shall live forever. For the bread which I shall give him is my flesh which is for the life of the world. Then the Jews contended with one another saying, How can this man give us his flesh to eat? Then said Jesus to them, Verily, verily I say unto you, if ye eat not the flesh of the Son of man and drink not his blood, ye have not life in yourselves. The feeder on my flesh and the drinker of my blood hath life eternal, and I shall raise him up at the last day. For my flesh is true nourishment and my blood is true drink. The feeder on my flesh and the drinker of my blood remaineth in me and I in him." Knowing the methods of the Fourth Evangelist, his total independence of historical tradition and his custom of writing into the narrative the lessons he though needed in his own day, it is easy to see in this debate, nowhere recorded in the Synoptics, the contraversy actually in process at Ephesus, between the Pauline Christians on one side and the Jewish and Baptist parties in the Church on the other. (3) It is possible that there is some allusion to the eucharist in the story of the wedding at Cana, but, if so, it is vague and not

to our purpose.[112] The water and the blood issuing from Jesus's side at the passion have been interpreted as referring to the two sacraments. It is quite possible that the parable of the true vine (John xv. 1 ff) situated as it is in Jesus's last discourse to the disciples, is an allusion to the eucharist cup, suggested by Mark xiv. 25. It is noteworthy that the prayer of consecration in the Didache connects the cup with the vine of David.

How shall we interpret these seemingly conflicting data? Why did John refuse to regard the Last Supper as historical, while embodying the doctrine of the flesh and blood of Jesus in such strong language? Did he omit the Last Supper simply as he omitted the baptism of Jesus and as he says that the master baptised not, but his disciples, as though his Christ were superior to sacramental acts?[113] Surely not. His Jesus, who weeps and suffers hunger and washes his disciples' feet, is not above eating with them a ritual meal. Or does he transpose the institution of the eucharist to the earlier account of the feeding of the multitudes to show that Jesus's eating with his disciples was no new thing at his death, but that his every meal with them was consecrated? This view[114] also seems insufficient, and at variance with certain verses in the discourse quoted above (John vi).

The solution of the enigma, I am persuaded, will be found in the situation at Ephesus where the evangelist

[112] John ii. 1 ff. His sources were Mark ii. 18-22; Matt. xxii. 1-14; Luke xiv. 15-24, and IV Ezra X. Similar tales were told of Dionysus turning water into wine at his epiphany. This pericope was in ancient rituals a lesson for Epiphany. Bacon, *H. T. R.*, 1915, p. 115.

[113] John iv. 2. Schweitzer advances this view, *Paulinische Forschung*, 157 ff.

[114] Bacon, 434 f, maintains it.

wrote. There, as we know (Acts xviii. 19 ff) was a church founded by Paul, in which, naturally, the eucharist would be celebrated. But there was also a powerful element in the church drawn from the Disciples of John,[115] who had no eucharist, and who would doubtless oppose it, just as the Bohemian Brethren absorbed in Protestantism for long kept their own distinctive tenets. But we have already proved from Hebrews, from Colossians and from the D recension of Luke xxii,, that there was opposition to the eucharist, and especially at Ephesus. Now, though the sources of the Fourth Gospel are many — the Synoptics, the Apocalypse, Philo, the Hermetic literature, and of course the Jewish scriptures — the ones from which he drew most heavily for his doctrine were the Pauline epistles and Odes of Solomon,[116] these latter written at Ephesus by the Disciples of John, and consequently full of allusions to baptism, but with none to the eucharist. Unhampered as he was by any trace of independent tradition,[117] he felt free to deal with the facts as he liked. As a follower of Paul he wished to preserve and emphasize the great spiritual lesson which he found in the words about eating the flesh and drinking the blood of Jesus. On the other hand he could not ignore the Disciples of John and their heirs, supported as they were by Jewish Christians, who abominated the supper as a heathen rite. Whether the evangelist had once himself been a disciple of the Baptist re-

[115] Acts, xix. 1 ff. That the Disciples would have no eucharist is obvious and is also proved by the Odes of Solomon. *Monist*, April, 1915, p. 186 f.

[116] So Harnack. *Monist*, 1915, pp. 171 ff.

[117] This fact, still disputed, has been pretty well established by Loisy, Bacon and others.

mains uncertain,[118] but that he did write with them constantly in his eye has long been recognized.[119] He therefore rejected the founding of the eucharist, and substituted for it a washing reminiscent of the one sacrament universally accepted, while at the same time conserving the lesson that Jesus is the bread of life. Not without reason does his language hark back to the Jewish Scriptures, to the Apocrypha and to Philo,[120] in showing that the Logos is the true nourishment of the soul. "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of man and drink his blood," says he, "ye have no life in you." By this he would not have understood in the old, literal way: "It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life" (John vi 63).

How then shall we explain the emphasis on the "water and the blood," i. e., the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist, in John xix. 34 and 1 John v. 6? It has been proposed to regard the "blood" here simply as an allusion to the passion. It is probable that the Docetae,[121] at whom these verses may have been aimed, denied the passion, and it has been shown that it would be most appropriate to connect the blood of martyrdom with the water of baptism, for the one might well follow the other.[122] Such an explanation would obviate all difficulties, but I am inclined, never-

[118] Gardner, *Ephesian Gospel*, 87 f.

[119] Baldensperger, *Der Prolog zum vierten Evangelium*, 1897; Dibelius, *Johannes der Täufer*, 1911; B. W. Bacon, *Fourth Gospel*, 290.

[120] Psalm lxxviii. 4; Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 29; Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, 1906 ff, IV, 231 ff. Probably also to the supersubstantial bread of the Lord's prayer.

[121] This explanation offered by Bacon.

[122] So R. Winterbotham in *Expositor*, 1911, 62 ff, and J. Denney, *ibid.*, 1908, 416 ff. The latter regards the "blood" as referring primarily to the passion and martyrdom, secondarily to the eucharist.

theless, to see at least a secondary allusion to the eucharist in the "blood." If this is true there is certainly a contrast to the teaching of the earlier chapters of the gospel. It can be instantly seen by comparing John iii. 5 with 1 John v. 6. The first passage reads: "Except a man be born by water and the spirit, he cannot enter the kingdom of God." The second: "This is he that cometh by water and blood and spirit, Jesus Christ . . . Because these three are witnesses, the spirit and the water and the blood." In the first chapter of the gospel, then, the spirit and baptism were all that was necessary, but in the epistle and in the later, probably subsequently added, verse in the gospel, the eucharist is joined with them as one of the means of salvation. There are unusually strong reasons for claiming that this verse is subsequently added. Bacon,[123] among other authorities, recognizes that the whole of chapter xxi, and that John xix. 35 are added by a later editor. The evidence for the last verse is overwhelming; it reads: "And he that hath seen hath borne witness, and his witness is true, and that man knoweth he speaketh the truth that ye may believe." The introduction without antecedent of "that man," ἐκεῖνος, *ille*, would be simply incomprehensible in the original narrative. The word points to the author of the gospel as seen by some one else. The solemn asseveration, as to a new and disputed fact, also strongly indicates editorial revision. Now it is absurd to regard the asseveration, and that alone, as interpolated. Something else must have been introduced with it, something to which the asseveration applies, and this can only be the previous verse about the

[123] P. 191.

water and the blood. This, then, was added by the editor, who introduced it from the epistle. If we regard the gospel and the epistle as by the same hand, we are then reduced to the necessity of reconciling the omission of the eucharist in one to its recognition in the other document. The true explanation has been suggested by Percy Gardner:[124] "In old age, when he wrote the epistle, the Evangelist seems to have relied, as was natural to a man of failing powers, somewhat more on the visible rites of the church." It is remarkable that we find exactly such a change in Luther's dogma, and that completed in ten short years. In 1520 he put the essence (*res*) of the sacrament in the Word, and stated that the actual rite was not necessary to salvation; in 1530 he was ready to affirm that the real essence (*res*) of the sacrament was in the elements, and that participation in them was absolutely indispensable to secure their benefits. So with the Evangelist; in his younger years the spiritual lesson was all important; later, as the rite became more firmly established and as he became more ecclesiastical, he accepted the communion as essential.

Most of the Gnostic sects known to us adopted the eucharist, with its ideas of immolation and theophagy.[125] Many of their dogmas were probably founded directly on mystery cults with which they were connected in pre-Christian times. How easily pagan ideas amalgamated with Christian is seen in the eucharistic prayer in the Acts of Thomas:[126] "Come, communion of the male . . . Come thou that dis-

[124] *Ephesian Gospel*, 213.
[125] A good account of their dogmas in W. M. Groton, pp. 35 ff.
[126] Chaps. xlix and l; Pick, *Apocryphal Acts*, 268 f.

closest secrets and makest manifest the mysteries. . . . Come and communicate with us in thy eucharist." Here emerge the two primitive conceptions of the mysteries and of communion with the divine after the manner of sex.

Clement of Rome in the first century calls the communion an offering and a sacrifice.[127] By making it the "liturgy" *par excellence* of the church, he puts it in the place of the highest form of divine worship which it has ever since held in the Roman church.

Ignatius also thinks of it as a sacrifice, and as charged with a magical quality for keeping both body and soul deathless. "The bread," says he, "is the medicine of immortality, the antidote preserving us that we should not die, but live forever in Jesus Christ." [128] This is but a literal interpretation of John's teaching by a younger contemporary. Ignatius also states plainly that the body is the same as that which suffered on the cross.[129]

According to Justin Martyr, "God, anticipating all the sacrifices offered in his name by the command of Jesus Christ, namely the eucharist of the bread and the cup, which are offered by Christians in all places throughout the world, testified that they are well-pleasing unto him." [130] He also speaks of the eucharist as becoming the body and blood of Christ through the prayer of the Logos. To him also it is a memorial of the passion and a magical charm for giving men im-

[127] Ad Cor. 40, 44; cf. 36. Srawley, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 546; *Encyclopædia Britannica*, IX, 868; Goguel, 224; Lambert, 412.

[128] *Ad Eph.*, 20. Srawley, 546.

[129] *Ad Smyr.*, 6; cf. *Ad Rom.*, 7.

[130] *Dialogue with Trypho*, 117. *First Apology*, 66, 67. Srawley, 547; Lambert 415.

mortality. His comparison of this sacrament with that of Mithra has already been mentioned. In this connection it is interesting to note that with him and with a number of other early Christians, the elements were not bread and wine but bread and water.[131] Paul speaks only of the "cup," without denoting its contents,, but both he and the gospels imply that it was wine.[132]

It was the insistence on the element of sacrifice that gave rise to the rumors in the Roman world of "Thyestean banquets." Early in the second century Pliny [133] felt it necessary to inform Trajan that the meal partaken of by the Christians was of harmless and ordinary food, and that he found nothing criminal in it but only a perverse and excessive superstition. In the same letter he uses the word *sacramentum* of the morning service, but does not connect it with the supper which was eaten later in the day. The word, which as we have seen was already used of the rites of Bacchus and Isis, became the regular translation of the Greek "mysterium," the initiation into holy secrets and magical practices characteristic of all the "mystery-religions," including Christianity. The word is found in the Septuagint only in the latest books, Daniel and the Apocrypha, when the Hellenization of the Jews was well under way.

Though Clement of Alexandria does not emphasize the sacrificial aspect of the eucharist, he is familiar with the conception of sacrifice as originally a feast upon a victim, and neither the idea of the real pres-

[131] Harnack, *Brot und Wasser. T. & U.*, VII, 2, 1891.
[132] 1 Cor. xi. 21; Mark xiv. 25 etc.
[133] Ep., 96.

ence nor that of transubstantiation are foreign to his thought.[134]

Irenaeus calls the bread and wine an offering to God the Father of the body and blood of his Son, and says that it is efficacious for the body as well as for the soul. When consecrated, the bread is no longer bread but of two elements, a heavenly and an earthly, and prepares our bodies for the resurrection. He compares it to the sacrifices of the Jews to its advantage, as being offered by children, not servants.[135]

As has been shown, the fundamental idea in eating the God was to become like him. This was carried so far in the pagan religions, that the initiates not only imitated what the god was fabled to have done, but were actually called by his name. The adorer of Bacchus became a Bacchus; the follower of Attis was called Attis.[136] This idea could not be better expressed than it was by Cyril of Jerusalem, who, in his Fourth Mystagogic Catechism teaches: "By taking the body and blood of Christ, you become one body and blood with him. For thus we become Christ-bearers (*χριστοφόροι*) by his body and blood being digested into our members."[137] The language of ritual again became the mother of legend, and the myth of St. Christopher was born.

The "highest" doctrine of the sacrifice of the communion is found in Cyprian near the middle of the third century. "The priest," says he, "imitates what Christ did, and offers then in the church of God the

[134] Tollington, *Clement of Alexandria*, 1914, II, 155.
[135] *Adv. Haer.*, IV. xviii, 4. *De corpore et sanguine*, V, ii, 2. Srawley, 547.
[136] As in Catullus's famous poem of that name.
[137] Quoted, Dietrich, 107.

Father a true and complete sacrifice." [138] and again: "The passion of the Lord is the sacrifice we offer." [139]

Cyprian's idea of the effect of the magic food was that of the savage medicine-man. He tells in one place of a little girl who had eaten some meat sacrificed to idols and thus became possessed by devils. When she came to the Lord's table, she accordingly refused the consecrated cup and fell into fits.[140] A similar magical effect is attributed to the host by the Acts of Thomas.[141] A youth who had murdered his mistress partook of the eucharist and immediately his hand withered. The Apostle forthwith invited him to confess his crime, "for," said he, "the eucharist of the Lord hath convicted thee." It is well to bear in mind that the magic of the host is not a medieval invention but as primitive as the rite itself.

The Didascalia, in the second half of the third century, speaks of "offering the acceptable eucharist, which is the symbol (*ἀντίτυπον*) of the royal body of Christ." In the next age the Apostolic Constitutions call the bread and wine "symbols (*ἀντίτυπα*) of his precious body and blood" and an "unbloody sacrifice," celebrated to commemorate the Lord's death.[142] The Paulicians and Thronaki also allegorized the eucharist.[143]

Eusebius of Cæsarea says that Christians are "fed with the body of the Saviour,"and that Christ delivered to his disciples the symbols of his divine incarna-

[138] Ep. LXVIII, 14. Mirbt, 24b.
[139] *Ibid.*, 17.
[140] *De lapsis*, cap. 25. Dietrich, 107.
[141] Cap. XLVIII.
[142] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 549.
[143] Conybeare, "Paulicians," *E. B.*

tion, charging them to make the image of his own body.[144] (Are we listening to the priest of Aricia and his image of the Wood-King baked in bread?) Here and elsewhere the words for image (εἰκων, *figura*), imply the real presence.

Tertullian's fetishism made him dread any disrespect offered to the magic food. He speaks of "handling the Lord's body" and of "offering violence to it." The bread he also calls the "figure of the body," and "that which represents the body," without, however, implying that the body is absent. Rather than saying that he began to confound the bread with the body, it is truer to see in him the first to distinguish them.[145]

In many writers of the period of Rome's decline and fall the sacrificial idea comes to dominate all others. Some such idea haunted the mind of Athenagoras when he speaks of "the bloodless sacrifice of Christians," as the counterpart of the blody sacrifice of the cross. Thus does Cyril of Jerusalem dilate upon the "holy and most awful sacrifice," "Christ immolated for our sins to propitiate God who loves men," offered in the eucharist. Thus Chrysostom gloats over "the Lord lying slain, and the priest standing over the victim praying, all reddened with that blood." [147]

Before closing this section on the primitive church, it is pertinent to notice one question which early came up, as to ministration of women in the eucharist. From the first, women had taken a part in divine service and had prophesied with the men. Such were the daugh-

[144] *De Solemnitate Pasch.*, 7.
[145] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 549.
[147] *De Sacerdot.*, VI, 4; Srawley, *E. R. E.*, 551 f.

ters of Philip the Evangelist, from whom, according to Harnack,[148] Luke derived much of his peculiar material. But St. Paul opposed it.[149] As, however, the practice continued here and there, we meet with later efforts to deal with it. The most interesting of these is in the Apostolic Church Order.[150] It is but one instance of many to show the inveterate tendency of men to refer back to authority, and, if there is not a command of God covering the subject they desire to deal with, to invent one. Just as Paul fabled that Christ had instituted the Supper, so the later author felt free to write history as follows: "The Apostle John said: 'You have forgotten, brethren, that when the master demanded the cup and the bread and consecrated them with the words, That is my body and blood, he did not allow them [*sc.* Mary and Martha] to come to us.' Martha said, 'It was on account of Mary, for he saw her smile.' Mary said: 'I did not laugh; it is rather as he said to us before that weakness should be saved by strength.' " [151]

This obvious invention did not entirely suppress the abuse at which it was aimed, or else the practice cropped up afresh from time to time. The service of women at the altar was condemned by a council of Nimes in 394, but still persisted in certain parts of France. In the sixth century in Brittany women called "conhospites" offered the blood of Christ to the people and carried the elements around on portable altars. This "unheard-of superstition" was denounced and sup-

[148] *Luke the Physician.*

[149] 1 Cor. xiv. 34 ff; cf. 1 Tim. ii. 12.

[150] Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutestamentlichen Apocryphen*, 1909, 165. Pick, *Paralipomena*, 68 f.

[151] I. e., woman by man.

pressed by the bishops Licinius of Tours and Melaine of Rennes. It continued elsewhere, however until the ninth century.[152]

[152] *Monumenta Germ. Hist., Leges*, I, cap. 2, p. 42. I owe this reference to Dr. R. J. Peebles. Other examples of women who dispensed the eucharist in the early church or in heretical sects given in article "*Frauenämter*," in *R. G. G.*; Lydia Stöcker, *Die Frau in der alten Kirche*, 1907; L. Zscharnack, *Der Dienst der Frau in den ersten Jahrhunderten der christlichen Kirche*, Göttingen, 1902.

III. TRANSUBSTANTIATION

Ever since the Reformation, Protestants have been accustomed to think of transubstantiation as the inept invention of a barbarous age, taking literally words originally figurative. This is almost the inverse of the truth. Transubstantiation does not indicate a coarser conception of the real presence than that held by the primitive Christians, but a finer one. It was an attempt, not to impose a new and irrational sense on the words of consecration, but to explain them. Much of the history of theology has been the effort to find rational theories for absurd practices. The practice is absurd simply because the age has outgrown it, and, with the progress of time, the quondam explanation is outgrown in its turn, is denounced, and a new one is found. The Orphics felt the absurdity of eating raw flesh sacramentally, and invented their myth of the eaten Dionysus to give a valid theory for the ancient survival. When Paul, on the analogy of the mystery religions, evolved from his inner consciousness the myth [1] of a Saviour who should die, be eaten, and rise again, he felt that the only explanation of the mysteries necessary was the story of Jesus, part of which he had heard from others, part of which came to him by direct revelation. Jesus, he taught, must have done and said certain things, and this was enough to make the estab-

[1] Wrede: *Paul,* (English), pp. 164, 178, 180. Reitzenstein, G. Murray and others have shown that the idea of the Gnostic Saviour is pre-Christian. Murray, *Greek Religion,* 143 f, with references; *Hibbert Journal,* 1913, 744 f.

lished rites valid for his initiates. For the majority of early Christians the same was true.

But as times changed, and as the church expanded and began to take in learned and intellectual men, the myth was no longer all-sufficient. The fundamental idea of the absorption of deity by killing and eating it became less obvious. Men began to speculate how the bread and wine they ate could be the very body and blood of immolated God. And thus, turning to Aristotle or to other philosophers, they evolved the dogma of a transmutation in the substance of the elements without my change in the "accidents."

As some such explanation was inevitable the moment men asked the question, which apparently never occurred to Paul, *how* the bread could be the body, it can be traced to a high antiquity. Even the Gnostics of the second century spoke of a change in the elements to a spiritual potency, though the outward appearance remained constant.[2] Thus, as we see so often, it was the heretics who first advanced the dogma later orthodox. Thus it is, because the thinkers who first perceive the difficulties in the old, *ipso facto* become heretics, but, as they are merely the forerunners of the future, the first to sense what will soon be obvious to all, their new explanation gradually becomes more and more natural and widely accepted. In this case their speculations entered the church by Clement of Alexandria, whose ideas approach that of transmutation of the elements.[3] Irenaeus [4] distinguishes two factors in the bread, which, after consecration, is no longer

[2] Clemens Alex., *Exc. Theodoti*, 82.
[3] R. B. Tollington, *Clement of Alexandria*, ii. 155.
[4] Srawley, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, v. 547.

bread, but an earthly material and a heavenly combined. The latter is absorbed by the spirit, the former prepares the body of the recipient for resurrection. Cyril of Jerusalem expounds the idea of conversion, and Gregory of Nyssa compares the sacramental change in the bread and wine to that which food and drink underwent when Jesus ate them, and thus by digestion made them his body.[5] After the year 400 the terms implying a change in the elements became common. In the East we hear Chrysostom saying that he "buries his teeth in Christ's flesh," [6] and that he who is seated on the right hand of God is held in the hands of all.[7] The effect of the sacrament was conceived in the most literal way. Gregory of Nyssa, in language worthy of the Cretan Orphic or of Paul, says that "Christ infused himself into our perishable nature, that by communion with the Deity mankind might be deified." Cyril of Jerusalem states that the eucharist makes believers of one body and one blood with Christ, (*σύσσωμοι καὶ σύναιμοι τοῦ Χριστοῦ*).[8]

Ambrose was the father of transubstantiation in the West. His authority was held high not only in his own day, but in the time of the Carolingian renaissance [9] and of the Reformation.[10] He speaks of the elements being transformed, and of offering the transfigured body. In the *De Mysteriis*, the authenticity of which has been doubted, I know not on what grounds, Ambrose or his imitator expounds at length

[5] Srawley, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, v. 550.
[6] *In Johann.*, 47, 46, 3.
[7] *De sacerd.* iii. 4.
[8] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 551.
[9] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*, iii. 310.
[10] Quoted, *e. g.*, by Henry VIII against Luther, O'Donovan, 212.

the doctrine of conversion, in exactly the style later prevalent. The change, according to him, is caused by the words "this is my body." [11]

But in that very age there were great Fathers of the church who endeavored to give a more spiritual and therefore a more symbolic meaning to the mode of the real presence. In this as in so many other things Jerome and Augustine were the precursors of the Reformation. Their language dimly, and not without ambiguity, sowed the seeds which ripened more than a millenium later. Jerome speaks of the bread as "showing forth the body of the Saviour," and as "a memorial of redemption." [12] Augustine went deeper, to the very foundations of religion. Like Luther he believed that faith was the all-important element in salvation, and thus he necessarily relegated ceremonies to a somewhat subordinate position. "*Crede et manducasti*" [13] is his justly famous application of this principle to the Lord's Supper. Faith, therefore, is essential; not the actual eating of the bread and wine, for these are but "signs of the body and blood," and the whole rite but "a sacrament of commemoration of Christ's sacrifice." [14] This is all implied in his definition of sacrament, later universally adopted, as the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace. And yet he was not always consistent in his language. Like Luther later he at times felt the necessity of maintaining a double, and really self-contradictory, thesis, that both faith and the bread were necessary; that Christ was "offered up *once for all* in

[11] Harnack, *loc. cit.*, Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 551.
[12] Srawley, *ibid.*
[13] *In Johann.* xxv. 12.
[14] *Contra Faustum*, xx. 21.

his own person, and *yet* was offered up daily in the sacrament among the congregations." [15]

But Augustine was far ahead of his age. In two centuries the cruder doctrine of the eucharist had become official. Gregory the Great goes into a rhapsody on the duty of daily immolating to God the offering of his flesh and blood.[16] So great was its power of mollifying an offended Deity, that it was able to loose souls from the pains of purgatory. As to Paul, so to the pope, a special revelation was vouchsafed on this subject. In a dream he witnessed a poor soul in purgatory, whose torture was abated as often as mass was said for him.[17]

As is frequently the case, the coarser and grosser doctrine drove out the more spiritual by mere weight of the numbers of its adherents. The masses are never able to grasp the finer ideas of the leaders of thought, and they are stubbornly attached to the old and customary. So we find Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, when he set forth the doctrine of a transmutation in the elements, stating for his authority not so much Ambrose and others whom he might have quoted, as the common opinion of mankind. The followers of Augustine who opposed him were crushed by authority. The first of these was Ratramnus, who asserted that the body and blood were mere figures or symbols.[18] Two hundred years later Berengar, whom the Catholics always cite as the precursor of Zwingli,

[15] Ep. 98. Somewhat compressed. The Paulicians held a doctrine resembling that of the Quakers, that no bread and wine were needed in the eucharist, and that Christ had used none. See F. C. Conybeare, "Paulicians," in *Encyclopaedia Brittanica.*

[16] *Dialogi Quattuor de vita et miraculis patrum,* iv. 56.

[17] *In evangelia,* ii. 37, 8.

[18] Mirbt, 96. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 310.

maintained the doctrine of a spiritual, as contrasted with a corporeal, presence. But he was condemned unheard in 1050, and in 1059 was forced to sign a confession that, "the bread and wine after consecration . . . are the true body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ . . . and are sensibly, not only in the sacrament but in truth, held and broken in the hands of the priest, and consumed by the teeth of the faithful." [19] The significance of the whole controversy from Radbert to Berengar was not so much that it established the dogma of change in the substance of the elements, for this had been pretty well established before, as that it thoroughly ventilated the subject and unified the hitherto somewhat fragmentary teachings of the church. Paschasius first treated the eucharist exhaustively from all points of view, and gave an explanation of some sort to all the practices of the church.[20] In opposing him Ratramnus [21] started a controversy the extent of which he could not have grasped.

The schoolman of the twelfth century contributed a suitable vocabulary. Then first was introduced the distinction between the "substance" and the "accident," and then was coined the word "transubstantiation." [22] This terminology was adopted and the form of the dogma permanently fixed by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. It decreed: "There is one universal church of the faithful, outside of which no one at all is in a state of salvation. In this church Jesus Christ himself is both priest and sacrifice; and his body and

[19] Mirbt, 113. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 380.
[20] Harnack, *ibid.,* 311.
[21] Not Radbert, as Protestant Harnack says, *ibid.* 316.
[22] Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 385; Srawley, *E. R. E.,* v. 558.

blood are really contained in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body and the wine being transubstantiated into the blood, by the power of God, in order that, to effect the mystery of union, we ourselves might receive from him (*de suo*) what he himself has received from us (*de nostro*)." [23] This decree was taken into the Canon Law, and put on a par with the doctrines of the Trinity and the Incarnation.[24] Even Scripture was tampered with — as it constantly has been in the interest of dogma — and the text about "not discerning the body" (1 Cor. xi. 29) was altered to "not differentiating the substance." [25] In like manner it was again altered in the official edition of 1590, to read, against the Protestants, "not discerning the body *of the Lord*."

The schoolmen of the following period drew the corollaries of the Lateran decree, and endeavored to elucidate it. Aquinas affirmed that the eucharist is a sacrament as received and a sacrifice as offered. As to the first aspect, the whole Christ, Man and God, is present in both species and in every fragment.[26] This was necessary to be preached because of the custom, begun in the twelfth century, of withholding the cup from the laity.[27] It is remarkable that Aquinas has so little to say about the sacrifice, and, on the whole, conceives it so differently from Chrysostom. The reason is to be found in the change of emphasis in religion between the fourth and the thirteenth century. To the

[23] Mirbt, 143.
[24] Harnack, *Dogmengesch.* iii. 386 f.
[25] E. S. Buchanan, *Expositor,* 1915, pp. 420 ff.
[26] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 559, 561; Graebke, 36.
[27] Srawley, 563.

primitive Christian, familiar as he was with sacrifices and scapegoats, the actual immolation of a victim to appease the divinity was all important. To the Germanic Christians of a thousand years later, the idea of sacrifice was foreign, and that of magical charms of all kinds was familiar. What they wanted and what they saw in the blessed food was therefore chiefly a talisman. To be certified of its authenticity was all they required.

As consequences of the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation, Harnack[28] enumerates, 1. Stopping of children's communion. 2. Rise in respect for the priest, who was credited with the power to perform a stupendous miracle. 3. Withdrawal of the cup from the laity, in order, probably, to make a distinction between laymen and priests. 4. Adoration of the elevated host. It was natural that, if the wafer were God, it should be worshiped as such. A logical consequence of this custom was the establishment in 1264, of the festival of Corpus Christi day to celebrate, on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, the miracle of the making of Christ's body.[29]

A new and comprehensive statement of Catholic doctrine was called for by the Reformation and furnished by the Council of Trent. The first decree on the subject, covering the main points of doctrine was passed at the thirteenth session in 1551. But the decree on the cup for the laity and communion of children, together with that on the sacrifice of the mass and some other matters, on which it was expected the Protestants would be heard, was postponed by the

[28] *Dogmengesch.*, iii. 580 f.
[29] Srawley, *E. R. E.*, v. 560. *R. G. G.*, s. v. "Fronleichnamsfest."

Legate, and not finally passed until the twenty-first session in 1562.[30] It has been noted by Francis Bacon, Harnack, and others, that the main source for the doctrine promulgated by the Council was not any written authority, but the usage of the church. This was regarded as decisive in all cases. Harnack puts the matter polemically, but truly, when he says all the bad practices connected with the mass were sanctioned, down to the last letter.[31]

The decree of October 11, 1551,[32] may be summarized as follows: 1. Jesus Christ, very God and very man, is truly, really, and substantially present under the species of bread and wine. The words of Paul and the evangelists, "this is my body," must be taken in their proper and plain meaning. 2. By this spiritual food men are cleansed from daily faults and preserved from mortal sins. 3. The eucharist is excellent above the other sacraments. 4. After consecration, the whole substance of bread is converted into the whole substance of the body and the whole substance of wine into the whole substance of the blood and this change is properly called transubstantiation. 5. The host is to be adored with the *cultus latriae*, or form of worship owed to very God. The festival of Corpus Christi is confirmed. 6. The ancient custom of taking the sacrament to the sick is approved. 7. Confession is a necessary preparation for communion. 8. The self-communion of priests is a custom descending as it were from apostolic tradition.

The decree of July 16, 1562,[33] declares that the

[30] Pastor, *Gesch. d. Päpste*, vi. 82 f., vii, 219 f., 226 ff.
[31] *Dogmengsch.*, iii. 703.
[32] Mirbt, 225 ff.
[33] Mirbt, 239 ff.

granting of the cup to the laity is not a divine command, and that though it has often been done, yet he who denies that the church has power and weighty reason for withholding it, shall be anathema. The same position is taken about the communion of children.

The dogma of the sacrifice of the mass was passed at the twenty-second session, September 27, 1562.[34] It declares that Christ, as a priest after the order of Melchisedek, at the last supper offered his body and blood under the form of bread and wine to God the Father. A similar sacrifice is offered by the priest, as is proved by the words "This do in remembrance of me," by Paul's words to the Corinthians (1 Cor. x. 20 f) and by other passages of Scripture. It declares further that: 2. The sacrifice of the mass is propitiatory for the living and dead. 3. It is good to hold masses in honor of the saints. 5. All the usual ceremonies are right. 6. The mass in which the priest only communicates is approved. 7. The mixing of water with wine is believed to have been done by Christ. 8. The mass is not to be celebrated in any vulgar tongue, but its mysteries are to be explained to the people.

A brief résumé of official Catholic dogma gives but a faint picture of the importance of the mass throughout the Middle Ages.[35] It was the focus of religion and of life. It was a main factor in determining the constitution of the church. Control of the sacraments as the necessary means of salvation made possible the interdict and the crusades, the humiliation of Henry IV at Canossa and the sway of Innocent III. Penance and excommunication were realities; the priest could open the gates of heaven and consign to hell.

[34] Mirbt, 241 ff.
[35] Shotwell, 1 ff.

The economic results of the doctrine of the eucharist were tremendous, because the endowment of masses for the dead absorbed an immense amount of wealth. As each mass was an act of propitiation, it was expedient to have as many of them as possible.[36] Nor were these acts of propitiation valid only for the good of the soul. A sixteenth century author [37] says that the papists apply masses "to soldjoures in war, for faire weather and rayne, for the plage pockes and such other diseases, for beastes sicke of the morren." Mass was said in order to consecrate marriage, or to celebrate a great victory for the faith of Jesus, such as the massacre of the Waldenses or of the Huguenots. It was said on board ship to allay tempest, and, if the bread and wine could not be obtained, the canon might be said just the same without them. In this case it was called "a mock mass," "a dry mass," or "a naval mass." [38]

It is probably best to explain the analogous custom of giving to warriors on the field of battle, when they were in danger of death and no bread could be obtained, in place of it three blades of grass, or a bit of earth by saying that the priest simply took whatever was in reach. Attempts to connect the custom with old superstitions about the magical properties of grass or of mother earth seem rather far fetched.[39] I have even seen the statement somewhere that the proverb "to bite the dust" is derived from this custom. It is, however, found in Homer.[40]

[36] Srawley, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics,* v. 562.
[37] Bancrafte, preface.
[38] Missa sicca, missa ficta, missa navalis, Du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis, etc.,* s.v. "Missa."
[39] G. L. Hamilton: "Sources of the Symbolical Lay Communion," *Romanic Review,* 1913, iv. 221 ff.
[40] Iliad ii. 418; xi. 749.

The word "mass" or "missa" first met with in the writings of Ambrose (or Pseudo-Ambrose) was derived by Alcuin from "mittendo," "that which sends us to God," and by Bede either from "mittere," a word used of sacrifice, or from "missus," a mess of food.[41] Reuchlin,[42] followed by Melanchthon,[43] Zwingli [44] and Baronius,[45] derived it from the Hebrew "massa" meaning "offering" or "tribute," (Deuteronomy, xvi. 10.) Luther found the etymon in the Hebrew "Mauzzim," which he translated now as the name of a false God,[46] and again defined as "a lucrative cult for the sake of money or gain." [47] The true derivation is doubtless from the words spoken to the catechumens just before the communion service, "Ite, missa est."

As the host became the center of worship and of magic, the fetishism connected with it grew to incredible proportions. There is a truth in Harnack's observation that the placing, by the Fourth Lateran Council, of the dogma of the eucharist on an equality with those of the Trinity and Incarnation was the boldest and most characteristic deed of the Middle Ages.[48] Hysterical saints received visions of Jesus telling them that the most precious thing on earth was his holy corpse which was daily transmuted by the priest.[49] Improving on Tertullian, the Synod of Cologne provided

[41] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Missa."
[42] *De rudimentis hebraicis,* 1506, p. 289.
[43] *Corpus Ref.,* xxiii. 65 f.
[44] *Corpus Ref.,* lxxxix. 567.
[45] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Missa."
[46] In Daniel xi. 38 (German Bible); *Conversations with Luther,* 145.
[47] Drews, 70. Though Luther distinctly used the word "Mauzzim" here, the meaning he gives it shows that he probably confused it with "massa."
[48] *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 388.
[49] Vision of Adelheid Langmann in the fourteenth century, Dietrich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie,* preface.

in 1280 that if any consecrated wine was spilt the priest should lick it up.[50] Everything was done to make vivid to the people the reality of the body and blood. Thus the bread was made in the image of a man and pierced by the priest,[51] just as the great god of the Aztecs had once been treated; hot water was used to increase the resemblance of the wine to blood.[52] Eugenius IV tells of a host at Divio which bled when cut by a sacrilegious person.[53] Caesarius of Heisterbach knew of many cases when Christ had appeared in the hands of the priest holding the host.[54] Paschasius Radbert, in stating why the transformation of bread and wine into body and blood does not appear to the senses, says first that it would be unnecessary and offensive, and then that it often did happen nevertheless.[55]

The host was, in fact, regarded as a powerful charm. As early as the time of Gregory of Nyssa we hear of a sick woman named Gorgonia who was cured by visiting a church and rubbing her body with the consecrated bread and wine reserved there.[57] Stephen of Bourbon tells of a man who stole the host to get wealth, and how some bees, finding it, had made a wax church for it and stung a man trying to take it away.[58] Savonarola, after offering to submit to the ordeal by fire, refused to enter the flames without either the host

[50] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Ablingere."
[51] Conybeare, "Eucharist," *Encyclopaedia Britannica,* Peebles, 208.
[52] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Aqua."
[53] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Hostia."
[54] *Dialogus miraculorum,* quoted by J. H. Robinson, *Readings in European History,* 1904, i. 355 f.
[55] Harnack, *Dogmengesch.,* iii. 314.
[57] D. Stone, i. 106. Against this interpretation of the passage, *J. T. S.,* xi. (1909-10), 275 f.
[58] Quoted by Robinson, *Readings in European History,* I. 355 f.

or a crucifix to guard him.[59] A morsel of the host bought from a priest or stolen was always the safest charm for all kinds of good luck. The method of treating it was sometimes singularly drastic. Erasmus tells of a wizard at Orleans who bought a fragment of the Lord's body from a mass-priest, and would get a virgin to stand over it with a drawn sword as if threatening; thus he succeeded in invoking devils to do his bidding, until at last he unintentionally called up those still worse devils, the inquisitors.[60] It was believed that a parody of the mass would have great power, and that it was the culmination of the wickedness indulged in by witches at their Sabbaths.[61]

As a magic talisman the eucharist became a favorite means of detecting crime.[62] Rudolph Glaber, for example, tells of a criminal in clerical dress who swallowed the eucharist, but who, when it immediately emerged from his navel, confessed. Pope Gregory VII cleared himself of the charge of simony in 1077 by taking the eucharist.[63]

But with all its machinery of heaven and hell, with all its apparatus of myth, magic and miracle, the church was not able to produce reverence for the most awful of her mysteries. Swearing by the mass and thus "tearing the holy body of God omnipotent" was common in the age of faith.[64] Such proverbial phrases as

[59] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, vi. 42. Smith: *Age of the Reformation*, 18.

[60] Epistle of Jan. 14, 1501; Allen, Ep. 143.

[61] H. C. Lea, *A History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*, iii. 500. Smith: *Age of the Reformation*, 654.

[62] On this, Jacoby: "Der Ursprung des Judicium Offae," *Archiv für Religiónswissenschaft*, 1910, p. 525.

[63] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Eucharistia."

[64] Barclay: *Ship of Fools* (1509, from Brandt's *Narrenschiff*, 1494), 1874, ii. 132 f.

"sacrificing the tail of the host," meaning to complete a job, surely show little respect.[65] Nay, the holy drug of immortality became a favorite vehicle for shortening the life of enemies by poison. Thus, among many examples, the Emperor Henry VII is said to have been murdered in 1313.[66]

On the art and literature of the later Middle Ages the doctrine of the eucharist had a powerful influence. The Gothic cathedrals were consciously built around the Lord's Table. The missals bloomed with many a rare flower of illuminated letter and headpiece. One of the greatest paintings of the Renaissance, Raphael's Debate on the Sacrament, represents the supreme mystery of the Catholic faith, the Triune God hovering above the sacred bread.[67] And the paintings of the Last Supper are countless.

The popular literature of the later Middle Ages is full of stories of Jesus appearing in the host. In Malory's *Le Morte d'Arthur*, book xvii, chapter xx, such a theophany to Galahad is recounted in these words: "Then the bishop made semblaunt as though he would have gone to the sacring of the mass. And then he took an ubblie [wafer] which was made in likeness of bread. And at the lifting up there came a figure in the likeness of a child, and the visage was as red and as bright as any fire, and smote himself into the bread, so that they all saw it that the bread was formed of a fleshly man; and then he put it into the Holy Vessel again, and then he did that longed to a priest to do to a mass."

[65] Du Cange, *s.v.* "Hostia."
[66] J. F. Meyer, *passim.*
[67] On this, Pastor, *History of the Popes,* vi, 560 ff.

One of the most bizarre of medieval superstitions was that Jews would buy the consecrated bread in order through it to torment Christ. In the English *Play of the Sacrament*,[68] they bought from a merchant a host for one hundred pounds, and then "put hym to a newe passyon; with daggers gouen hym many a greuyos wound; nayled hym to a pyller; with pynsons plukked hym doune." At all this the host bled, and when afterwards put in a cauldron and boiled, its blood made the water red. Put then into an oven, which burst asunder and bled at the crannies, Jesus himself appeared in his own form and remonstrated with his tormentors in bad Latin: "O mirabiles Judei, attendite et videte Si est dolor similis dolor meus! Oh ye merveylows Jewys, why are ye to yower kyng onkynd?" The Jews were immediately converted by this miracle, and were given suitable penance to expiate their crime of torturing God.

The greatest poem of the Middle Ages, Dante's Divine Comedy, glorifies transubstantiation.[69] This purpose finally became the leading motive in the famous legend of the Grail. This is particularly interesting as showing how a legend, based on a pagan fertility rite of sacrifice and theophagy was adapated to Christian purposes, transforming the sacrament of an older religion into that of the current faith. This was easily done as both sacraments had, though this was unknown to the medieval writers, similar origin and his-

[68] Fifteenth Century, reprinted, J. M. Manley: *Specimens of the Pre-Shakesperean Drama*, 1903, i. 240 ff.

[69] L. A. Fisher: *The Mystic Vision in the Grail Legend and in the Divine Comedy*. 1917. Jessie L. Weston: *The Court of the Holy Grail*, 1914, and the valuable review of this book by Winifred Smith in the *Dial*, May 1, 1914, pp. 385 ff.

tory. Among other points of resemblance between the two rituals, as developed in the Middle Ages, we find that the service of the maidens in carrying around the grail was similar to that of the women of Brittany who carried the eucharist among the people on portable altars.[70]

[70] Peebles: *The Legend of Longinus*, 1911, p. 209.

IV. CONSUBSTANTIATION

But though the church might, and did, delay the progress of enlightenment, she was fortunately unable to stop it altogether. As in other dogmas, so in this of the God made bread, there were always doubters. Skepticism in Italy went so far that even the priests who celebrated mass would say, instead of "this is my body," "bread thou art and bread thou shalt remain." [1]

More important for the history of dogma, though far less radically rational, were the scruples of the schoolmen at transubstantiation. Never doubting the real presence of Christ's body and blood in the bread and wine, they yet sought some way of making it more intelligible than that defined by the Lateran Council. So subservient is the human mind to the thought and terminology of contemporaries, that the theory they hit upon was but one degree further along the road from mystery to reason than was the theory they attacked. As a substitute for transubstantiation, by which the body was turned into bread, they proposed consubstantiation, by which bread remained, but God's body was added to it. Thus Durand held that "hoc est corpus meum" meant "sub hoc est contentum corpus meum." [2] William of Ockam formulated the idea more plainly, teaching that the orthodox view was less likely than that Christ's body was present *with* the

[1] Luther says he heard this at Rome in 1510; Sermon of April 19, 1538, Buchwald, 338.

[2] Schaff, vol. v, part ii. p. 190.

bread.[3] Most clearly of all, Cardinal d'Ailly said: "It is very possible that the substance of the bread coexists with the substance of the body of Christ. . . That mode is possible, nor is it repugnant to reason nor to the authority of the Bible; rather it is easier to understand and more rational than any other mode [of the real presence]." [4]

Gabriel Biel made consubstantiation his own in these words: "The body of Christ is not seen by us, neither is it bitten by the teeth, nor perceived by the taste, but the species of the bread is both bitten and tasted, and under it is contained the true, whole, and perfect body of Christ." [5] . It is instructive to see in this how gradually the dogma shaded off into the symbolism of the simple memorial. The next step after Biel was taken by John Wessel, who taught that the Lord's Supper was a rite by which the death of Christ is appropriated to the believer. Christopher Honius, or Hoen, of the Netherlands, took the dogma as far as any of the Reformers when he suggested that in the words of consecration, "is" meant "signifies," and that the presence of Christ's body is therefore only a figure of speech.[6] Pica della Mirandola also considered the words "This is my body," symbolic or "significative," not literal.[7]

Though Wyclif is commonly considered the most important of the medieval rebels from Rome, yet he made no attack on dogma whatever, save on this point of transubstantiation. His voluminous works are filled

[3] Schaff, vol. v, part ii, p. 192.
[4] *Quaestiones*, lib. iv, p. 6, art. 2.
[5] Ashley, 254.
[6] *De Avondmaalsbrief van Cornelius Hoen 1525.* Uitgegeven door A. Eekhof. 1917.
[7] Schaff, vol. v, part ii, p. 597.

with denunciations of the practices of the clergy, and of their morals, but one treatise only is distinctly new and dogmatical. As a moralist he was irritated by the idolatry of the host; as a scholastic he was offended by the absurdity of substance without accident.[8] He, like his contemporaries, protested against the abuses of masses for souls, but he never attacked the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass as such.[9] Transubstantiation drew all his anger. "This heresy," says he, "robs the people, renders them idolaters, denies the teaching of Scripture, and moves Christ himself to wrath." Through it "Antichrist subverts grammar, logic, all natural science and even destroys the sense of the Gospel." [10] Wyclif examines and denies each of three theories of the real presence, transubstantiation, identification, and impanation. Christ is present, he says, "sacramentally, spiritually or virtually" as the soul is present in every part of the body. An animal or a man predestined to reprobation would no more partake of Christ in the bread than a lion eating a man would eat his soul.[11] For his error on the sacrament, as well as for others, he was condemned by the English council of 1382.[12]

Huss, who followed Wyclif in almost everything else, did not adopt his views on this subject. His radical followers, however, known as the Taborites and Bohemian Brethren, not only demanded the cup for the laity, but denied the efficacy of masses for the dead [13]

[8] Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, iii. 579.
[9] *Ibid.* 582 f. Loserth "Wiclif" in *R. G. G.*
[10] *Trialogus*, pp. 248, 261.
[11] *De eucharistia, passim.*
[12] Schaff, *op. cit.*, 320.
[13] Errors of the Bohemian Brethren drawn up by J. Lilienstayn in 1505, quoted by P. S. Allen: *Age of Erasmus*, 291.

and transubstantiation.[14] The Hussite Martin Hansk taught that "in the sacrament of the altar there is not the true body and blood of Christ, but only bread, which is a sign, and that only when it is taken, of the body and blood of Christ." [15]

On this matter the church could not afford to parley; but she was disposed to compromise on giving the cup to the laity. After long negotiations with the Council of Basle, this was finally granted to the Bohemians in a compact of 1436. The terms were stated with intentional ambiguity, which resulted in the Council acting as if the Bohemians had submitted and the Bohemians assuming that their views had triumphed. Notwithstanding the subsequent machinations of Rome to suppress them, they succeeded in maintaining themselves by force of arms.[16]

[14] Schaff, *op. cit.*, 388.
[15] Janssen,[20] ii. 455, note 2.
[16] Pastor, *History of the Popes*, iii. 213 f.

V. LUTHER

Before narrating the numerous controversies of Luther on the eucharist, in the course of which will be brought out the nuances and changes in his doctrine, it may be well to sum up the constant elements in it, and their sources. These are: 1. Denial that the mass is a good, or propitiatory work. 2. Denial of transubstantiation. 3. Assertion of a real presence "with, under and in the bread," without scrutinizing the mode of this presence. The words "impanation" and "consubstantiation," coined early by controversialists to express his views, are not found in his own writings, and are not accepted by most Lutherans. In *The Babylonian Captivity* (1520), however, he quotes d'Ailly in a way that shows he is very nearly in accord with his theory, which may correctly be called "consubstantiation." [1] 4. Assertion that auricular confession, though useful, is not a necessary preparation for communion. 5. Advocacy, in general, of giving the cup to the laity.

What are the sources and what is the general character of this position? In the first place it may be confidently asserted that Luther neither claimed to make, nor made, any appeal to his senses. Reason illuminated by God was indeed, said he, a help, but possessed by the devil it was a hindrance.[3] "Reason is the

[1] Weimar, vi., 506. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 893, note 1.
[2] Smith, *Luther,*[2] p. xii.
[3] Weimar, *Tischreden,* i. no. 439.

devil's bride, who adorns herself and occupies the church and thrusts God's word out." [4] "If, outside of Christ, you wish by your own thoughts to know your relation to God you will break your neck. Thunder strikes him who investigates. It is Satan's wisdom to try to tell what God is, and by it he will put you in the abyss. Therefore keep to revelation and do not try to understand." [5] Further quotation is superfluous. It has often been recognized that the Reformation was in point of dogma a singularly conservative movement.[6] Even Harnack admits that the one trenchant reform Luther did make in ecclesiastical doctrine, that of the sacramental system, was not due to his special enlightenment, but to "his inner experience that where grace does not endow the soul with God, the sacraments are an illusion." [7]

But when a doctrine, for which no unmistakable proof could be found in Scripture, appeared to him not only illogical, but absolutely incomprehensible, and immoral as well, he naturally rejected it. Thus his early opposition to the sacrifice of the mass was not due to any philosophical speculation about its intrinsic impossibility, but to the fact that conditions had changed so much since the doctrine grew up that it became almost incomprehensible to him. The Catholic church, indeed, was so deeply committed to the dogma that it kept on repeating the words asserting it, long after their original import had been totally forgotten. The change from the time of Paul, whose language and thought were moulded by the Mysteries,

[4] Weimar, xlvii. 474.
[5] Weimar, xlv. 96.
[6] *E. g.* by Gibbon and Nietzsche, quoted, Smith, *Luther*,[2] p. xii; *Age of the Reformation*, 710 f, 730 ff.
[7] *What is Christianity*, p. 279.

or of Chrysostom with his "priest reddened with the blood of the immolated Christ," to that of Aquinas and Luther, was immense. I speak of the former because, though he did not reject the dogma, the very light emphasis he put upon it shows that he had already outgrown it. Now Luther, like Wyclif, found in the mass regarded as a good and propitiatory work, a cause of scandal. He saw that it was the chosen instrument of ecclesiastical oppression. The masses which he saw mumbled at Rome at the rate of seven an hour had in them as little religion and as much greed as possible.[8] Like Wyclif, he therefore denounced them, and, as with the Englishman, it was more the abusive practice than the theory that moved him, for while he varied as to whether the mass should be called a sacrifice, he never wearied of inveighing against it as a good work and one repugnant to his *sola fide*.[9]

In the rejection of the transubstantiation Luther had plenty of authority. He himself mentions as sources the Bohemians[10] and Peter d'Ailly.[11] The word was not found in Scripture nor in the earlier doctors, and it was really the *word* that he objected to. In like manner he disliked the German word for Trinity (Dreifaltigkeit) though he heartily accepted the mystery.[12] Regarding transubstantiation, he started the legend, still repeated today,[13] that it came from Aristotle's school. This error contains a minute particle

[8] Drews, 77.

[9] E. Kroker, p. 236.

[10] *To the German Nobility,* Weimar, vi. 456. On the Bohemians as a source for Luther's doctrine, W. Köhler: *Luther und die Kirchengeschichte,* 1900, p. 212.

[11] *Babylonian Captivity,* Weimar vi. 506.

[12] Grisar, ii. 574.

[13] H. B. Workman: *Christian Thought to the Reformation,* 1911, p. 51.

of truth; for the terminology of the schoolmen in this as in other things was colored by their study of Aristotle, but the substance of the doctrine itself, was, as shown above, an inevitable development of the primitive Christian realism. The word transubstantiation sanctioned by the Lateran decree, was invented, said Luther, by those coarse clowns the Thomists, and should really be called "annihilation" of the bread and wine into Christ's body. Though it came from Aristotle's school, says the Reformer, if that philosopher could see the reasoning of his disciples he would say: "What devil has led such gross asses and fools to my books? Don't the clowns know what I mean by substance, subject and predicate?" And this stricture, continues Luther, pleased with his clever imitation of the Stagyrite's style, would be true.[14]

The reasons why Luther should retain belief in the real presence after having discarded the official explanation of its mode are obscure only to those who, having come themselves to consider it absurd, fancy that Luther must have been as modern as are they. The first of these reasons was that he had the whole tradition of the church behind him, and he was very dependent on tradition. He also had the plain words of the Bible, "this is my body," which he could not easily explain away. Though in most respects the Reformation was not, as it claimed to be, the return to a primitive Christianity, in this it might speciously be so called. In merely accepting the real presence while refusing to speculate upon its mode, Luther was more Pauline than either the Catholics with their philosophic

[14] Letter to Prince George of Anhalt, June 12, 1541, Enders, xiii. 390.

explanations, or the Zwinglians with their philosophic doubts. He himself at one time shared the latter, when, as he expressed it, he "felt the old Adam":

I freely confess [he wrote][15] that if Carlstadt or any other could have convinced me . . . that there was nothing in the sacrament but bread and wine, he would have done me a great service. I was sorely tempted on this point and wrestled with myself and tried to believe that it was so, for I saw that I could thereby give the hardest rap to the papacy. I read treatises by two men[16] who wrote more ably in defense of the theory than has Dr. Carlstadt and who did not so torture the word to their own imaginations. But I am bound; I cannot believe as they do; the text is too strong for me and will not let itself be wrenched from the plain sense by argument.

One powerful motive with Luther for not accepting the symbolical interpretation of the words of consecration, was his jealousy of Carlstadt, who had been the first of the Wittenbergers to put it forward.[17] A contemporary [18] is justified in expressing the suspicion that Luther would have held this opinion "had he not been prevented [*i.e.* anticipated] by this Carolstadius, whome the wicked arrogancy of his stomake could not suffer to be auctour of so hye a heresye, whereof he coveted him selfe to have been father." Indeed Luther himself confesses, "Carlstadt's ranting only confirmed me in the opposite opinion." [19]

But it would be superficial to see in this external motive the decisive cause of Luther's doctrine of the real presence. This, like most of his dogmas, was

[15] Letter to Strassburg, Dec., 1524, Luther's Correspondence, ii, p. 277.

[16] Who these were have been much disputed. Perhaps Honius was one, and perhaps Lucas von Prag the other, Köhler: *Luther und die Kirchengeschichte,* 210.

[17] W. Köhler: "Zum Abendmahlstreit zwischen Luther und Zwingli," *Lutherstudien,* 1917, p. 116.

[18] Barlowe, *Dialoge,* 1553. No paging.

[19] Letter to Strassburg, Dec., 1524, *Luther's Correspondence,* ii, 277.

deeply rooted in his own subjective need. Theology, as he often said, was for him not a speculative but a practical science, the object of which was the then so seemingly vital one of winning grace and of escaping hell. Luther approached all questions from the point of view of the sorely tried conscience.[20] What agonies he went through, not only in the cloister but later, by reason of dread of everlasting torture it is difficult for us to imagine. Luther was fairly obsessed by it,[21] and groaned in spirit, "Who shall deliver me from the wrath to come?" At the same time, he undoubtedly had a sufficiently disinterested moral sense to desire goodness and God's favor for their own sake.

Now, considering Luther's training and deep reading in books which emphasized the importance of the body and blood of Christ, it is not strange that he came to believe that these and these alone could really bring Christ into the heart of the believer, and make him feel certain of being saved. This was so overwhelmingly needful to him, that he made the real presence an article of the standing or falling church.[22] Without something supernatural he could not persuade himself that he was really on the right road. With him "assurance of salvation must be based on miracle in order to be certain; but this miracle must be one occurring in the inmost center of the personal life, and must be clearly intelligible in its whole intellectual significance. . . . The sensuous sacramental miracle is done away with, and in its stead appears the miracle of thought, that man in his sin and weakness can grasp and confidently assent to such a thought. That is the

[20] Graebke, 80; Grisar, ii. 790.
[21] *American Journal of Psychology*, 1913, July.
[22] Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*, iii. 889 ff.

end of priesthood and the hierarchy, the sacramental communication of ethico-religious powers." [23]

It is easy to deduce the consequences of this position. Luther's posture remained that of the schoolman who rejected a given theory, but could not transcend the scholastic limitations it implied.[24] When pushed by Zwingli he had to invoke one "sophism" — as he himself called scholastic postulates — after another. First he borrowed from Scotus [25] the theory of the ubiquity of Christ's body, and to justify that the *communicatio idiomatum*, or doctrine that the divine nature of Christ communicated all its attributes to the human nature.[26] In acknowledging that Christ's body was at the right hand of God, while asserting that that hand was everywhere,[27] Luther proved too much, and involved himself in a *reductio ad absurdum*, for then, as was promply printed out, the body would be in every common meal.

But intellectual confusion was not the only evil that Luther's position involved. By his insistence on the necessity of partaking of the body and blood, he made the means finally more important than the goal.[28] He not only made the tyranny of dogma unbearable, but he opened the door to the *opus operatum*, to formalism and to a narrow and loveless orthodoxy, in short to all those things which at other times he attacked so vigorously and successfully in the old church.[29]

It is important to survey Luther's doctrine historic-

[23] Tröltsch, 192 f.
[24] Scheel, "Abendmahl," in *R. G. G.*, i. 70 ff.
[25] Duns Scotus, lib. iv, dist. x, quaest. iii. Wyclif had done the same, *De eucharistia*, p. 232.
[26] Well set forth in a letter of Oct. 1, 1538, Enders, xii. 13 ff.
[27] Weimar, xxiii. 143.
[28] Tröltsch, 193.
[29] Harnack, *Dogmengesch*, iii. 889 ff.

ally, observing how it first advanced and then, under the influence of the polemic with Zwingli, retreated. The whole tendency of his earlier work is to oppose the Catholic theory of the automatic pouring in of grace by the sacraments, and to make faith the only essential. This is evident in his first sermon on the eucharist,[30] of 1518, in which he makes the "res" of the sacrament unity of hearts. In 1519 he issued another sermon *On the Venerable Sacrament of the holy, true Body of Christ*,[31] in which, basing his doctrine on Biel,[32] he makes the spiritual body of Christ the "res." The significance of the rite, which he compares to a contract given by one citizen to another, he finds in the community of believers with Christ.

In 1520 he reaches the most advanced position he ever attained. In his *Sermon on the New Testament, that is on the Holy Mass*,[33] he makes the "res" of the action the Word of God, by which alone is granted forgiveness of sins. He lays great weight on the mass as a "testament," defined as the irrevocable will by which a man leaves his goods to others. To this will the bread and wine are merely the seal and certification. He wishes to reduce the mass to the form observed by Christ and the apostles. In this work Luther distinctly implies that the actual participation in the bread and wine are not necessary to secure their benefits. "Believe and thou hast eaten," he repeats from Augustine.

About the same time he attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation. In his *Address to the German*

[30] *Sermo de digna praeparatione cordis pro suscipiendo sacramento eucharistiae*, Weimar, i. 325 ff.
[31] Weimar ii. 742 ff.
[32] Graebke, 27 f.
[33] *Works*, i. 294 ff. Weimar, vi.353 ff.

Nobility he declares, "it is not an article of faith to believe that natural bread and wine are not in the sacrament — which is a delusion of Aquinas and of the pope — but merely to believe that true and natural flesh and blood are in the bread and wine." [34] In his work on *The Babylonian Captivity of the Church* [35] he comes as near defining his own theory of the mode of Christ's presence as he ever does, though he states that it is not necessary to comprehend the modes of divine action. But he speaks of d'Ailly's theory of consubstantiation in a way that shows he is inclined to it. He also refers to Wyclif, though it is doubtful how much of his work he could have known at first hand. He observes that Paul and the evangelists always speak of the bread as bread, and that they also speak not of the wine but of the *cup*, which could not possibly be transubstantiated. Why could not Christ's body be contained within the substance of the bread, he asks, as well as in the accidents? Borrowing from Augustine one of the stock similes of the fathers, he compares the mode of the presence to that of fire in red-hot iron.[36] Here, too, he emphasizes his belief that the essence of the sacrament is the word of God.

Two years later, when he had begun to feel pressure from Carlstadt, he consistently took the position that one should not investigate the mode of divine operation. Don't confuse the people with these hair-splittings, he writes Speratus, nor ask whether Christ is present with "blood, humanity, divinity, hair, bone, and skin." [37]

After this time Luther's conception of the benefits

[34] Weimar, vi. 456.
[35] Weimar vi. 506 ff.
[36] Weimar, xi. 487 f.
[37] June 13, 1524, Enders, iii. 397. *Luther's Correspondence*, ii, 127.

and nature of the sacrament became more and more material. In 1523 the body and blood were considered the object of the ministering word, along with forgiveness. Two years later they were made the vehicles of forgiveness, and soon afterwards they were stated to be, along with forgiveness, of the "res" of the sacrament.[38] In his *Confession on Christ's Supper* (1528), Luther wrote: "The flesh of Christ is full of divinity, full of eternal good, life, and blessedness, and who takes a bit of the flesh takes with it to himself eternal good, life, and blessedness and all that is in the flesh." [39] From this it was but a step to the making, in 1529, the body and blood the exclusive "res," and calling forgiveness a mere effect. The body and blood thus completely expelled the Word as the vehicle of forgiveness and forgiveness as the "res" of the sacrament.[40] But this was not all. As Luther grew older and the fear of death became more present to him, the sacrament appeared to him more and more in the light of the "medicine of immortality." In his sermons of 1537 and 1538, he places the main function of the bread and wine in their power to destroy death and assure immortality.[41]

Luther's controversy with the Catholics on the sacrament was on three points besides the doctrines of transubstantiation. 1. The denial that the mass was a good work. 2. The denial that confession was absolutely necessary as a preliminary to communion. 3. The giving of the cup to the laity.

[38] Graebke, 80.

[39] *Ibid.*, 64.

[40] *Ibid.*, 81. Thus in his polemics. In the Catechism of 1529, however, we find a partial return to the more spiritual view.

[41] Sermon of Oct. 29, 1537, Buchwald, 186 ff; or July 28, 1538, *ibid.*, 436 ff.

In 1518 Luther still considered the mass a sacrifice in the Catholic sense.[42] In the following year, however, he protested, in the interest of his *sola fide*, against the theory that the mass was a good work unless accompanied by faith and love. Instead of an *opus operatum* he stated that it should be an *opus operantis*.[43] At the same time he expressed the wish that a council might grant communion in both kinds to the laity.[44]

Far stronger is his *Sermon on the New Testament* of 1520.[45] There he considers that the worst abuse of the mass is to call it a sacrifice. More idolatry is caused by it, he thinks, than was found among the Jews. He reprobates private masses, the offertory, and the idea that the elevation of the host is for the purpose of offering it to God, rather than for our sake. In a certain sense, indeed, the service may be called an offering, if by that is meant that in it we offer ourselves to God. He denies explicitly that masses are a benefit to souls in purgatory, and proposes that foundations for masses be abolished. This is also forcibly recommended in the *Address to the German Nobility*.[46] In *The Babylonian Captivity* he presents a similar position as to the sacrifice and good work, and demands that mass be celebrated in the vulgar tongue.[47]

The Catholics were not slow in taking up the gauntlet. Murner wrote to show that the mass was a sacrifice, efficacious for living and dead.[48] The bull

[42] In a sermon printed, Weimar, i. 433 ff.
[43] Weimar, ii. 751.
[44] *Ibid.*, 742.
[45] Weimar, vi. 353 ff.
[46] Weimar, vi. 451.
[47] Weimar, vi. 510, 516.
[48] Janssen, ii. 168.

Exsurge Domine, in article 16, condemned the proposal that a council should ordain communion in both kinds. To this Luther replied that the bull had simply condemned Paul, that Christ had commanded all to drink of the cup, and that if a council delayed, every man should take the matter into his own hands.[49]

Another famous refutation of Luther is the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*, written, at the suggestion of More and Wolsey, and with much help from More, Fisher and others, by Henry VIII, thence called Defender of the Faith.[50] As a rebuttal of the *Babylonian Captivity*, it takes up in course Luther's doctrine of the mass. The logic is extraordinary. In proving that the mass is not only, as Luther calls it, a testament or promise, the author shows that it is a good work, that when Christ instituted the Supper he made his own flesh and blood of bread and wine, and that the priest now does the same. This is a work, exactly as when a carpenter makes an image of wood he does a work. But what Christ does is good; consequently the mass is a good work. If Luther objects to the word "transubstantiation," Henry says nobody will trouble him to believe that if only he will believe that the whole substance of the bread is converted into the whole sub-

[49] *Grund und Ursach aller Artikel D. M. Luthers so durch römische Bulle unrechtlich verdammt sind*, 1521, Weimar, vi. 390.

[50] Published by O'Donovan. See *English Historical Review*, 1910, pp. 656 ff. *The Babylonian Captivity* was spoken of by Tunstall in a letter to Wolsey, Jan. 21, 1521, *Luther's Correspondence*, i. 455 ff; Henry was writing his refutation in April, *ibid.*, 520, and *Calender of Carew MSS*, 1867, no. 13. In 1534 Henry charged that More "by subtle sinister slights procured and provoked him to set forth a book of the Assertion of the Seven Sacraments." Bridgett: *More*, p. 221. More denied authorship but confessed that he had helped Henry, *Life* by Roper, in G. Samson's edition of the *Utopia*, 1910, p. 247. *Cf.* also More's letter to Cromwell, Feb. or March, 1533, *Workes*, 1557, p. 1526.

stance of the body, and the whole substance of the wine into the whole substance of the blood. How, asks the king, can the heretic pretend to rely wholly on Scripture, when he finds in it no authority for mingling water with the wine, "for," says he, "I imagine he will not be so bold as to omit this custom." Luther replied, and the battle continued to be waged with great ferocity for some years, but, as it hardly developed any new light on the question it need not be further followed here.

Quite naturally the Catholics made the most of Luther's utraquism, hateful to Germans because of the Hussite wars, at the Diet of Worms. Aleander's speech before the estates, on February 13, 1521,[51] especially emphasized this. Luther, after his appearance at the Diet, had a long argument on this point and on transubstantiation, with Cochlaeus. The Catholic justified his tenets by quoting Ambrose. The Wittenberg professor admitted that Ambrose had spoken of a change in the elements, but denied that this was transubstantiation. Cochlaeus illustrated the possibility of the bread being the body by comparing it with the dogma, incomprehensible to reason but firmly held by faith, of the double nature of the God-man, by which divinity was humanity. Luther here drew a fine distinction; abstract qualities, like divinity and humanity, or "breadhood and bodyhood," might be equated, even if rationally incommensurable, but not concrete things, like "bread" and "body." Cochlaeus maintained that the copula had the same force whether it united abstract or concrete terms, and that the pro-

[51] Förstemann: *Neues Urkundenbuch*, 1842, i. 30 ff. Smith, *Luther*, 109, with misprint "February 18" for "February 13."

osition about the divinity of Christ was on a par, as far as reason was concerned, with such equations as, "horse is ass," "white is black," "Cochlaeus is table." [52]

While at the Wartburg Luther wrote *On the Abuse of the Mass.*[53] After laying down his principle that only Scripture is authoritative, and not the usage of the church or the decisions of the pope or of the universities of Paris and Louvain, "with their dear sisters Sodom and Gomorrah," he subjects the ecclesiastical idea of a priesthood to a withering criticism. Maintaining, as he had in the *Address to the German Nobility*, the priesthood of all believers, he cries, "Come, noble parsons, show by one single point or line in all the Gospels or Epistles why you should be called priests before other Christian men." In the second part of the work he examines carefully the accounts of the Last Supper in the first three Gospels and in 1 Corinthians and shows that the bread and wine were never called a sacrifice. He who does so falls under the curse of Scripture against those who add to the words of that book.

The preface to this work, and letters of the same period, show that Luther was pleased with the steps taken at Wittenberg, in their earlier stages, both to abolish private masses [54] and to institute a simple communion service.[55] When, however, in a manner presently to be described, Luther saw that the reforms at Wittenberg went considerably beyond his own views,

[52] All this rests on a letter from Cochlaeus to "George" dated June 12, 1521, and first published in 1540. J. Kühn: *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag.* Leipzig n. d. pp. 95 ff.

[53] In Latin, Weimar, viii. 411 ff; in German, *ibid.,* 482 ff.

[54] To Spalatin, Oct. 7, 1521, Enders, iii. 236.

[55] To Melanchthon, August 1, 1521, Enders, iii. 205 ff. *Luther's Correspondence,* ii. 49 f.

he was both alarmed at the outbreak of independent and subjective religion and nettled that others seemed to be wresting the leadership from him. Returning, therefore, from the Wartburg in March, 1522, he abolished the communion service started by Carlstadt and Melanchthon, and reintroduced the mass with almost all the old forms. As Carlstadt had objected to the word "mass," Luther said he would use it for that very reason. Forgetting the anathemas he had launched against those who added to Scripture by calling the host a sacrifice, he says that now, "to spite the mob-spirits," he will "dub the sacrament anew a sacrifice, not that I hold it for a sacrifice, but that the devil, who is the god of this mob-spirit, may beware of me." In like manner he reinstated the elevation of the host, remarking that both the command to elevate, by the pope, and the prohibition to do so, by Carlstadt, were infringements of Christian liberty.[56] He was in a sad dilemma, for he wished to give it up to "go against the papists," and to retain it "to go against and annoy the devil." He finally decided that the latter was the more important duty, for, says he, "I would not then, nor will I now, allow the devil to teach me anything in my church." He even says that if necessary he will have the host elevated three, seven or ten times.[57] He also defended the use of Latin in the service by a questionable reference to 1 Cor. xiv. 26 ff.[58]

In the service as restored by him the words of the canon of the mass importing sacrifice were omitted. Private masses were also suppressed. Communion

[56] Barge, ii. 270.
[57] *Short Confession* of 1545, Erlangen, xxxii, 420, 422.
[58] Grisar, ii. 330.

was administered in one or both kinds according to the preference of the recipient.[59] The bread, however, was put in the layman's mouth, as by the Catholic priest, not in his hand, as by Carlstadt.[60] At this time Luther laid down the principle that in the matter of utraquism charity was the supreme law, and that one should not argue whether it is against the pope or not, but only whether Christians have a right to communicate as they please.[61] But two years later he wrote that if anyone was persuaded that communion under both kinds was commanded by Christ, he would better take it that way or not at all.[62] In later years he became more insistent that, even at the risk of persecution, lay Christians should insist on receiving the cup.[63]

When Luther came to think out the application of his principles to liturgics, he produced a work on the subject called *The Formula of Mass and Communion.*[64] In this he confesses to great conservatism on account of weaker brethren. Nothing should be changed except what was counter to the Bible. He accordingly left the introitus, the Kyrie eleison, the collects, the graduale, the use of candles and incense if desired, and the usual closing benedictions and prayers. He removed those prayers and that part of the canon, the offertory, importing a sacrifice, and he altered the words of institution to agree more closely with the

[59] Köstlin-Kawerau, i. 511.

[60] *Ibid.,* 505 f. Mr. George Plimpton of New York has an early illustrated Lutheran Catechism, showing the priest putting the wafer into the communicant's mouth.

[61] *On Taking the Communion in both Kinds,* Weimar, x., part ii, pp. 11 ff.

[62] To Spalatin, April 4, 1524, Enders, iv. 316.

[63] To Barbara Liskirchen, 1535, Enders, x. 136; to G. Curio, 1533, Enders, ix. 300; cf. also Enders, ix. 40, 181, 221, 290.

[64] Weimar, xii, 205 ff.

gospel. The self-communion of the priest was allowed, as well as vestments and all rites not expressly prohibited by Scripture. Auricular confession was not to be required, though it was considered useful, as a preparation for the sacrament, but any notorious offender was to be excluded from the altar. Communion was to be administered in both kinds, as sufficient indulgence had already been shown weak consciences in that matter.

On October 19, 1525, the service was first celebrated by Luther in German.[65] The following year, under the name German Mass, he published an order of divine service not unlike that now in use in Protestant churches.[66]

The polemic against the Catholics continued. Masses for souls were abolished at Wittenberg, and the income for them applied to the university.[67] In 1524 Luther wrote a work surpassing all previous ones in violence, *The Abomination of the Private Mass, called the Canon.*[68] He said that celebrating the mass was worse than cursing God on the streets. He was even inclined to see in it one chief cause for what he regarded as an unmitigated evil, the peasants' revolt.[69] Naturally, when the Reformation was introduced into Hesse, in 1526, the canon of the mass and all words implying that it was a sacrifice were suppressed.[70]

Many Catholics answered Luther, among the first

[65] "On October 19, 1525, they first began to sing the German Mass at Wittenberg in my presence." *Collectanea von Gerard Geldenhauer,* ed. Prinsen, 1901, p. 80.

[66] Smith, *Luther,* p. 230. Weimar, xix. 70 ff.

[67] Enders, v. 10 f, Smith, *Luther,* 184, 220. *Luther's Correspondence,* ii, 247 ff; also 154 f, 160, 173 f, 192, 207 f, 260 ff.

[68] Weimar, xviii. 22 ff.

[69] Erlangen, xxvi. 1 ff.

[70] Kidd, 224.

Jerome Emser.[71] John Eck, in a work entitled *Answer to Luther's Abomination against the holy Private Mass*, found it, according to a modern Catholic writer, "almost superfluous to prove how untenable were Luther's assumptions." [72] Cochlaeus made a more serious effort to rebut the heretic from Scripture, though practically all he could say was that the Bible never denied that the mass was a sacrifice and a good work, and never called it sin or idolatry. Cochlaeus's wrath was moved by the "wretched German mass with barbarous rites and falsified or abridged canon," predicting that there would soon be as many diverse masses as there were individuals.[73]

Earnest efforts were made to reconcile Catholics and Lutherans at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. So anxious was Melanchthon to attain this end that he called God to witness he would sacrifice union with the Zwinglians to it.[74] Jonas and others drew up a memorial on private masses in terms as conciliatory as possible.[75] Another memorial of the Saxon theologians on the eucharist was phrased in Catholic terms. The real presence was strongly affirmed, as was the use of the sacrament in preserving the body and soul of believers unto eternal life.[76]

The original form of the Augsburg Confession, read before the Diet on June 25, 1530, is unfortunately lost.[77] We know, however, that it was couched in

[71] *Defence of the Mass of Christians against Luther's Formula of the Mass,* 1524. G. Kawerau: *H. Emser,* 1898, p. 44.
[72] In 1525; Grisar, ii. 807.
[73] Cochlaeus, art. 366.
[74] Schirrmacher, 247.
[75] *Ibid.,* 136 ff.
[76] *Ibid.,* 112 ff.
[77] Ficker speaks of a copy of the original, handed to Eck, then sent to Trent, and now rediscovered, in his article in *Geschichtliche Studien A. Hauck dargebracht,* 1915.

extremely conciliatory terms. Even after Luther had seen and approved it, Melanchthon altered the wording to make it more acceptable to Catholics. That Article 13, on the eucharist, was substantially Catholic may be safely inferred from the fact that the Catholic Refutation found not one objection to make to it.[78] As published in 1531 the Confession, though probably stiffened, is mild enough. It disclaims as a calumny the charge that the Lutherans do not celebrate mass; on the contrary all the old ceremonies are said to be kept except that some German is added to instruct the people, according to Paul's precept. Communion in both kinds is, however, demanded, and the abuse of the private mass as a good work, denounced.[79]

It really appeared that this last point was the only one left in debate, and even on this harmony at one time seemed possible. The Catholic protagonist, Eck, wrote: "Let not a verbal contention arise over the words 'offering,' 'victim,' and 'sacrifice' . . . for in the Old Testament Christ was offered in the paschal lamb figuratively or typically; on the cross in his passion (passibiliter) when he offered himself to the Father for our sins; and daily in the mass is he offered mystically and representatively in memory of his passion and oblation once made on the cross. Thus the mass is not a bloody victim but a mystic and representative one." [80] It was accordingly agreed by the Protestants to call the mass a sacrifice if the word were qualified with the term 'commemorative," in return for which the Catholics conceded communion in both kinds

[78] *R. G. G.,* i. 74; Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte,* iii. 670, note 3; Smith, *Luther,* 257. Smith, *The Age of Reformation,* p. 117.

[79] Kidd, 271 ff.

[80] *Articulus de missa,* August 21, 1530, Kidd, 296.

provided it were taught that this was a matter of convenience rather than of principle.[81]

It then seemed that the private mass was the only bone of contention left. On this both parties were obstinate, for it touched the most fundamental of all differences between them, that expressed in the doctrine of justification by faith only. Luther defined the difficulty of agreement in these words: "Campeggio said that before he would let the mass be taken from him he would let himself be broken on the wheel; I said that before I would defend that mass, I would let myself be burned to ashes, and more." [82]

The year after the Diet of Augsburg Cardinal Cajetan published one of the most influential of all the Catholic apologies for the sacrifice of the mass.[83] He proved it primarily by citing the words (Luke xxii. 19, 1 Cor. xi. 24 f): "Hoc facite in meam commemorationem," and emphasizing the word "facite." Christ does not say, "dicite," but, "facite," "do," or "make this," and what he wishes to make in his body by immolation ("facere corpus Christi immolando seu per modum immolationis.") This sacrifice does not impair the unique value of the death on the cross.

On the other side Luther came out with a treatise on *Private Masses and Parsons' Ordination.*[84] It is couched in the form of a dialogue with the devil, a method chosen, as he explains to a friend, in order to

[81] Smith, *Luther,* 261.

[82] Smith and Gallinger, 143; the same thought in *Lauterbachs Tagebuch auf des Jahr 1538,* p. 24, and in the Schmalaldic Articles, Weimar, vol. 50, p. 204.

[83] *Card. Cajetani Adversus Lutheranos juxta Scripturam tractatus. De sacraficio missae. De communione.* Coloniae. 1531. Analysed by Lauchert, 162 ff.

[84] Weimar, xxxviii. 171 ff.

bring home to the papists the full horror of their position, when, at the moment of death, they will themselves unable to answer the accusations of the Adversary.[85] The realism of the picture is, however, extraordinary; Luther describes how, on the appearance of Satan, his heart stopped beating, sweat broke out on his brow, and he understood how men had been found dead in their beds. Supported as this passage is by numerous sayings in the table talk describing conversations with the devil, it cannot be doubted that the Reformer objectified his foe in a very literal manner.[86] The substance of the work is the most complete repudiation of the Catholic position Luther ever attained.

As time went on, Luther frequently reckoned the mass the greatest impiety,[87] or said that he would rather be a whoremonger and thief than have blasphemed Christ with masses for fifteen years.[88] The Schmalkaldic articles of 1537 stated that the mass, considered as a good work, was a horror and ought to be abolished, together with all endowments for the same.[89] "This dragon's tail, the mass, has begotten on everything much vermin and many maggots." [90] At a debate held at Wittenberg an January, 1536, it was argued that if, as Paul said, 1 Cor. xv. 29, the sacrament of baptism might be celebrated for the dead, the sacrament of the eucharist might be so used also. Luther could only reply to this by a well-meaning, but mistaken, exegesis of the verse in question. Paul did not speak, said he, of

[85] To Hausmann, Dec. 17, 1533, Enders ix. 363.
[86] *American Journal of Psychology*, July, 1913, pp. 365 ff.
[87] Smith and Gallinger, 145.
[88] Erlangen, lx. 106.
[89] Smith, *Luther*, 307.
[90] Weimar, 50, 200 ff, 204.

baptism *for* the dead, but *over* (ὑπέρ) the dead, and he explained this by alleging that it was the ancient custom, in order to symbolize the life-giving powers of baptism, to hold the infant over a corpse while applying the holy water to him![91]

On December 5, 1538, Luther said: "I very much doubt whether the sacrament is in the private mass, for in it the commandment of God is unheeded, and they change the sacrament into a sacrifice. They celebrate no *communion*, but keep a solitary silence. The priest celebrates it alone, which is against the meaning of the word communion. I, however, do not wish to condemn their comprehensive and ancient abuse. If the papists do it, let them defend it and answer for it. We do not wish to be in their danger."[92]

But in regard to calling the mass a sacrifice and adoring the host, Luther was far from consistent. In 1536 he expressly conceded that, if publicly and rightly done, the eucharist was a sacrifice.[93] Even in a Romanist church, he said, at a public mass he would adore the host.[94] In his *Theses against Louvain*, December, 1544, he expressly admitted that the sacrament of the altar should be adored.[95] Perhaps his general position is best expressed in a letter of 1538,[96] saying that the eucharist was not primarily instituted for adoration, but could properly be adored as the Saviour's person.

While Luther himself continued to grow more reac-

[91] Drews, 88.
[92] *Lauterbach's Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538*, hg. von J. K. Seidemann, 1872, p. 187.
[93] Drews, 76.
[94] Smith and Gallinger, § 35.
[95] Thesis 16, quoted Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 610.
[96] To Francis von Rhewa, Enders, xii. 13 ff.

tionary, the polemic against the Catholics, carried on by the younger strength of Melanchthon and Calvin, grew less and less conciliatory. The form of the Augsburg Confession issued by Melanchthon in 1540, known as the Variata, reflects the shift of his opinion away from the Catholic to the Zwinglian side. At the same time a memorial drawn up by the Wittenbergers, while denying that the mass was a meritorious work or an opus operatum, disclaimed on the other hand the proposition that it was a mere rehearsal, like the play of the death of Caesar.[97]

The attempt to reconcile the two confessions at Ratisbon in 1541 achieved less than the similar attempt at Augsburg eleven years earlier. The conference was wrecked on the doctrine of transubstantiation. Calvin and Melanchthon, with their fellow Protestants who were present, denied not only transubstantiation, but any true change in the elements whatever. They said that the body was present only to communicants and that veneration of the host was idolatrous. In both these positions they were at variance with Luther no less than with the pope. The legate Contarini was astonished at these novel heresies, which he had not found in the Confession or Apology of 1530. He proposed that if the Protestants would allow transubstantiation, the Catholics should abstain from veneration of the host, but his opponents refused this compromise.[98]

[97] Enders, xii. 351 ff.

[98] Pastor-Kerr, xi. 444 f; Kidd, 343; Calvin to Farel, Gilchrist, i. 261.

VI. CARLSTADT

During Luther's year at the Wartburg the leadership of the reform movement at Wittenberg fell to Andrew Bodenstein of Carlstadt, a man of good intentions and clear brain, offset by a certain flightiness. In his earlier writings on the sacrament he agreed substantially with Luther, especially in his repudiation of the sacrifice of the mass as a "masterpiece of the devil." In the Old Testament, said he, no ox nor other animal was ever slaughtered more than once, and therefore Christ could not be immolated more than once. The intention to do so, however, made the priests his murderers, Pharisees, and robbers turning the house of God into a den of blood.[1]

Like Luther, Carlstadt emphasized faith as the all important element in the sacrament. In particular he thought of the bread as the sign of resurrection and the blood as the sign of forgiveness. In 1521 he still believed in the real presence.

In June of this year, however, after returning from a trip to Denmark, he began thoroughly to purge Wittenberg of the old leaven of Roman doctrine. In this he was ably seconded by Gabriel Zwilling, an Augustinian friar, and by Philip Melanchthon. Their reforms, which included an attack on sacerdotal celibacy, and important measures, cannot be here described save as they affect the communion service.

[1] Barge, ii. 85 ff.

It was apparently Zwilling who first assailed the mass, and with such vigor that he was dubbed by his hearers a second Luther. He declared that he would never hear another mass, for no sin could make God angrier. The sin consisted partly in calling the mass a sacrifice, partly in adoring the host. As the bread was a mere sign, to adore it would be both idolatry and as foolish as it would have been for the Jews to adore the rainbow or circumcision, both signs of a divine covenant. Communion under both kinds was introduced. On September 29 in the Parish Church, Melanchthon, a layman, and his pupils, received the sacramental cup.[2] As nearly as possible the service was restored to primitive custom, the priest reciting the words of the gospel. In this Melanchthon believed he was following the line laid down by Luther.[3]

On October 13, masses ceased to be celebrated in the Augustinian friary, and in their place a preaching service was held by Zwilling. On that day, for two hours in the morning and for another hour in the afternoon, he denounced the abuse of the mass so forcibly that his numerous audience was astonished. Four days later a learned debate on the subject was held under the presidency of Carlstadt.[4]

On October 20 Jonas, Carlstadt, Melanchthon and others drew up a memorial to justify their opinions to the Elector Frederic. They stated that they had abolished private masses because Paul forbade them to the

[2] Ulscenius to Capito, Oct. 6, 1521, *A. R. G.*, vi. 174 f. Helmann to John Hess, Oct. 8, *ibid.*, 175 ff; *Luther's Correspondence*, ii. 59 f.

[3] Melanchthon to Link, Oct. 9, *A. R. G.*, 181 ff; *Luther's Correspondence*, ii, 60 f.

[4] Burer to Beatus Rhenanus, Oct. 19, 1521, *A. R. G.*, vi. 192 ff; *Luther's Correspondence*, ii, 62 f.

Corinthians (*cf.* 1 Cor. xi. 21, τὸ ἴδιον δεῖπνον), and because the essence of the sacrament is communion, *i.e.* fellowship. Christ, said they, gave the cup to the laity. Private masses they called the greatest sin on earth, impossible to be applied for the souls of others any more than one man can be baptized for another. The Elector was begged to abolish the superstitious foundations by which impure priests make money by saving mass.[5]

On November 1 the parish priest of Wittenberg gave the sacrament in both kinds to all the people, young and old.[6] On the same day the provost (Justus Jonas) preached against masses for souls with "mocking, sharp words," saying that he would give all his goods to abolish such foundations.[7]

All this seed fell upon such good ground that on December 3 the people armed with knives and stones drove away priests celebrating mass from the parish church. On the following day the students destroyed an altar in a Franciscan convent. This was too much for the Elector Frederic, who rebuked his officers for allowing the disturbance. A worse riot followed on the arrest of the offenders, for on December 12 the people went to the officers and demanded their release.[8] Luther also disapproved of such methods, and made a short and secret visit to Wittenberg early in December. He did nothing, however, save interview a few friends.

A bitter struggle now set in between the innovators and the conservatives. The latter appealed to the

[5] *A. R. G.*, vi. 195 ff; Kidd, 97 ff.
[6] Barge, ii. 547.
[7] Barge, ii. 548.
[8] Smith, *Luther*, 136; *A. R. G.*, vi. 270.

Elector, begging him not to hurry his reforms, and to find out what Luther thought of them.[9] In reply the reformers pointed out that even if the law supported the old constitution, yet religion forbade the howling of masses night and day.[10]

On Christmas day Carlstadt celebrated an evangelic communion service more radical than anything previous. He announced that confession would not be required, nor would preparatory fasting. He even allowed men who had been drinking brandy to communicate, and, so the Catholics stated, to carry the bread home to their wives.[11] Instead of putting the bread in the mouths of the communicants, as usual, he allowed them to take it in their hands, by which some of it fell on the floor. All of this was a terrible scandal to the Catholics.[12]

Early in April Carlstadt proposed that instead of "mass" the service should be called "The Lord's Supper." [13] Among other reforms introduced by him or his friends was that of giving communion to children, according to the most ancient custom.[14]

The innovations of the Wittenbergers caused uneasiness among the Catholics of neighboring lands. On January 20, 1522, the Imperial Council of Regency at Nuremberg passed a mandate forbidding the celebration of mass in new ways, without the regular ceremonies or dress. It also forbade, pending the deci-

[9] J. Dölsch to Elector Frederic, Dec. 13, *A. R. G.*, vi. 295.
[10] Carlstadt, Melanchthon and others to C. Beyer, Dec. 12, *ibid.*, 279.
[11] Said of Zwilling, Jan. 12, 1522. *George Helts Briefwechsel*, ed. Clemen, 1907, p. 11.
[12] *A. R. G.*, vi. 387. Barge, ii. 616.
[13] Barge, ii. 563.
[14] Barge, *Aktenstüke*, 4, note.

sion of a council, utraquism and the communion of children.[15]

Though he was not influenced by this decree, Luther, on his return to Wittenberg, March 6, 1522, acted as if he had been sent to execute it. He immediately suppressed all the reforms instituted by others, and soon made the town too hot to hold those who would not, like Melanchthon, instantly come to heel. Carlstadt migrated to Orlamünde, as parish priest, and here he wrote a series of pamphlets propounding the theory that the bread and wine were merely symbols, and not, in any real sense, the body and blood of Jesus. One of these tracts was completed in the latter part of 1523; the other four were all composed in the months August to October, 1524.[16]

In forming his opinion it cannot be said whether Carlstadt was influenced by Honius, whose first treatise had been brought to Wittenberg by Hinne Rode, or not. It is quite likely that he evolved the idea himself, aware of the contradiction between the doctrine of the supreme importance of faith, and one which yet put so much stress on the outward signs. At any rate his first pamphlet, *On the Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ*, was a direct answer to Luther's *Adoration of the Sacrament*, which is a defence of the real presence against the Bohemians. Carlstadt wrote that he was compelled "by the inner witness of the spirit" and "the clear word of the Bible," to believe that the bread and wine were mere memorials. The real presence, he thought, stood in contradiction to the doctrine of the universal priesthood, or else we must assume that all

[15] Barge, *Aktenstüke*, 3 ff.
[16] Barge, ii. 151.

Christians have the power to transmute the elements, and thereby place all believers "by the side of Christ, to be, with him, mediators of the New Covenant." [17]

On August 22, 1524, Luther and Carlstadt had a friendly conference at Jena. The Wittenberger gave his colleague permission to attack his opinions and a gold gulden as a pledge of tolerance.[18] It was doubtless in response to this invitation that Carlstadt composed the four other pamphlets setting forth his views on the sacrament.

His argument is nothing if not thorough. He first proves that Christ could not be in the bread, by Paul's words (1 Cor. ii, 2) "I know nothing among you save Christ and him crucified." His body therefore could have been nowhere else save on the cross.[19] He calls it foolish to seek forgiveness of sins in mere signs.[20] In exegesis of "This is my body," he said Christ pointed to his own body, and this he proved by alleging that in Greek "this," τοῦτο, could not agree, being neuter, with "bread," ἄρτος, being masculine, but must agree with the neuter "body," σῶμα.[21] Calling Luther "the Antichrist's [pope's] younger friend," he asserts that he has the witness of the "Spirit" which Christ promised.[22] Luther's answer to this was pat: "My devil, I know you well!" [23]

Continuing his argument, Carlstadt says that the words about breaking the bread as the communion of

[17] Jannsen,[20] ii. 450.
[18] Smith, *Luther*, 154.
[19] Barge, ii. 153.
[20] *Ibid.*, 157.
[21] *Ibid.*, 159 f, 170. A similar argument has been used three hundred years before by Moneta of Cremona.
[22] Barge, ii. 161.
[23] Grisar, ii. 326.

the body of Christ (1 Cor. x. 16 f) refer not to the eucharist but to *all* bread. Those who interpret "cup" here for "wine," *continens pro contento*, "do it out of their own heads, leaving Christ's clear words."[24]

Further, he proved that "this" referred to "body" by the words "broken for you," which meant, broken on the cross. Nor could Christ be in the bread *now*, because Paul says "till he come," 1 Cor. xi. 26. If Christ had indeed referred to the wine as his blood he must have consecrated it in the bellies of his disciples as he spoke the words of institution after they had drunk (Mark xiv. 23-4). Finally, Christ said "this is my body," not "in this is my body," as the maintainers of the real presence make him say.[25]

Immediately after finishing the pamphlets Carlstadt left Saxony and wandered to South Germany and Switzerland. His work, thus industriously disseminated, had considerable influence. At Strassburg he saw Capito and Bucer. The former wrote, as early as October, 1524, a tract headed, *What to think of the Schism between Luther and Carlstadt.* He tried to minimize the difference, comparing it to that once existent between Paul and Barnabas. One should not honor Luther more than God, and as all are agreed in reprobating the sacrifice of the mass, it is silly, said he, to inquire further.[26] On the other hand Nicholas Gerbel wrote Luther on November 22, 1524, from Strassburg, that no Faber, Eck, or Emser had hurt him as much as had Carlstadt.

The Strassburgers were in general for Luther; Ger-

[24] Barge, ii. 162 f.
[25] Barge, ii. 164 f.
[26] Barge, ii. 214 f.

bel, for instance, writing Melanchthon that Carlstadt had brought unnumbered multitudes into hell fire.[27] At Augsburg Michael Keller (Cellarius) took Carlstadt's part, while Urban Rhegius wrote against him, deploring the fact that now the laity, even drunken sausage makers and crazy old women discuss the sacrament.[28] Popular interest was intense. The whole of Protestant Germany took sides almost at once, and the controversy thus started lasted for over a century.

At Nuremberg, Lazarus Spengler said that Carlstadt's opinion was to be rejected as it rested only on reason, not on the Bible. The printing of his books was forbidden and legal action instituted against his followers. This revealed more than had been anticipated, for on examination the well known painters Sebald Beham and his brother Barthel and George Pentz, confessed that they could not believe various Christian dogmas. How far they were led to take this position by the religious controversies of the age would be most instructive to learn.[29]

At Nördlingen, Billican wrote his *Renovatio ecclesiae Nordlingiacensis* against Carlstadt (1525). He tried to make the difference between Luther and Carlstadt as wide as possible, but misunderstood his master, for he blamed Carlstadt for saying that the sacrament forgave sins. This was exactly Luther's position. Billican was inclined to call the sacrament a mere memorial, though he illogically maintained the real presence. But when, in February, 1525, Carlstadt met Billican he almost converted him. The Nördlinger

[27] Barge, ii. 226, 228.
[28] *Ibid.*, 233.
[29] *Ibid.*, 242 f; Smith: *Age of the Reformation*, p. 628.

then wrote Luther for instruction, and, after a long period of uncertainty, was finally persuaded to return to the bosom of the Catholic church.[30]

In Holland, Spalatin wrote, that there were an extraordinary number tainted with the Carlstadtian spirit.[31]

The Catholics were much cheered by the split in the ranks of the Reformers, and knew how to make the most of it at the imperial Diets. Eck even praised Luther in comparison with Carlstadt. The humanists, on the other hand, were repelled by the new prophet's manner.[32]

Luther's consciousness of the scandal given by the schism greatly increased his rage. "Carlstadt," he wrote, "altogether given over to demons, pours forth his fury against us in many printed books, full of the poison of death and hell. . . The papists rejoice over our schism. But God in his own time will find Carlstadt, who, I think, is committing a mortal sin." [33]

He was, indeed, thoroughly frightened at subjectivism in a matter uncongenial to him. In answer to an inquiry from Strassburg,[34] he wrote a letter violently denouncing Carlstadt, December 17, 1524.[35] About the same time he wrote, in two parts, his work, *Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament.*[36] The first part of this treatise is directed against the iconoclasm of the innovators, the second part is on the

[30] Barge, ii. 245. *Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, s.v.* "Billican."
[31] Barge, ii. 259.
[32] *Ibid.*, 253.
[33] To Brismann, Jan. 11, 1525, Enders, v. 100 f.
[34] Enders, v. 59 ff.
[35] Weimar, xv. 391 ff, *Luther's Correspondence,* ii. 274 ff.
[36] Weimar, xviii. 62 ff.

Lord's Supper. In this he rightly criticizes Carlstadt's grammatical mistake in making τοῦτο unable, on account of its gender, to refer to ἄρτος. Against Carlstadt's claim that 1 Cor. x. 16 did not refer to communion at all, Luther calls it "a very thunderbolt on the head of Dr. Carlstadt and all his horde, and a lively medicine for the heart tempted about the sacrament." He advances the theory, borrowed from Scotus, of the ubiquity of Christ's body. The tone of the pamphlet is of the rudest. Carlstadt is called "a murderer of souls and a spirit of sin." Other phrases are: "the devil rides him;" "the ass's head will master Greek;" "he tattles and tittles, cackles and cuckles;" he has "a lying, evil spirit," "a deceitful, clandestine devil, who crawls into corners to do damage and spread poison."

In general the work alienated other Protestants. Melanchthon, indeed, was only too ready to take the part of his leader against Carlstadt.[37] But both Zwingli and Oecolampadius were displeased with it and blamed the violence of Luther's "old Adam." [38] Capito also censured the author of the work for "leaping upon a downcast and ignoble foe," "for striking back at one who has scolded him," and for pronouncing with too much surety and finalty. The book, says Capito, has so soiled Luther's reputation for holiness that he wishes it had never been written.[39] Gerbel wrote from Strassburg that the work displeased almost everyone there, at Zurich, and at Basle, and that Carlstadt was generally defended and Zwingli esteemed.[40]

[37] *Corpus Ref.*, i. col. 726, 730, 735, 740.
[38] Barge, ii. 277 f.
[39] Vogt: *Bugenhagens Briefwechsel*, 38, Oct. 8, 1525.
[40] Barge, ii. 276.

Carlstadt's old parishioners at Orlamünde stood by him. "So does Satan rage," exclaims Luther, "that at Orlamünde the peasants use my book for toilet paper!" [41] From the same place Luther heard silly stories, which he greedily swallowed, about Carlstadt pretending to have a familiar spirit who was really a chaplain.[42]

On receiving *The Heavenly Prophets* in February, 1525, Carlstadt immediately replied in three pamphlets. The most important of these was an *Exegesis of 1 Cor. x. 16*, a text which his opponent had called a thunderbolt on his head. He tries to show that it is not that but a "plumcake" for him. These works, however, seem to have been little read, as his star had already begun to pale before those of Zwingli and Oecolampadius.[43]

But his opinions had become widely accepted by this time. In 1525 the preachers at Frankfurt am Main taught that "the sacrament of the altar is nothing but water and meal, and the priests who say mass do nothing but a devilish work and crucify God thereby." [44] A more dramatic expression of these views was given by the peasants in the great rebellion. At that time the rustics of St. Blasien in the Black Forest, broke into a church, and demolished altar and monstrance, while one of the men swallowed the hosts, remarking that "for once he would eat enough of God." Somewhat similar proceedings took place at Ries and at Rothenburg.[45] Thomas Münzer confessed, before

[41] To Link, Feb. 7, 1525, Enders, v. 122.
[42] Enders, v. 107 f, 123, *Luther's Correspondence*, ii. 292.
[43] Barge, ii. 279 ff.
[44] Janssen,[20] ii. 667, note 1.
[45] *Ibid.*, 575, 597.

his execution, that at Halle he had eaten two hundred "Lord Gods" which he had not himself consecrated.[46]

Carlstadt was both discredited by the Peasants' Revolt and terrified by its outcome. Not knowing where to turn, he came to Wittenberg and was received for some time during the summer of 1525 in Luther's own house. The Reformer did not accord his protection for nothing but forced Carlstadt to recant. On July 25 the latter published an *Explanation*, saying, in language intentionally ambiguous: "I recognize before God, without jest and from my heart, that all that I wrote, spoke, or taught from my own brain or discovered for myself, is human, false, unpraiseworthy, deceitful, satanic, and to be shunned and avoided." [47] What these human ideas were was left unexpressed, but the recantation was universally understood to refer to the doctrine of the eucharist, particularly as Luther immediately published the *Explanation*, with a preface expressing his own dogmatic certainty. What pressure was put upon Carlstadt to induce him to sign even this, is told by himself: "One will not see me," he writes, "another follows me to seize or murder me, a third forbids me to buy food or drink, and a fourth does something else against me. I am so harrassed that I think I should be better off in Turkey." [48]

The recantation was a blow to the party. Capito wrote Zwingli in bitter mockery of the whole comedy of reconciliation: Carlstadt had recanted; Luther had flattered him; "O evangelic men! Carlstadt cited

[46] So Luther says in a sermon of April 19, 1538, Buchwald, 338.
[47] Barge, ii. 366.
[48] Barge, ii. 368.

Luther before God's last judgment; Luther asserted that Carlstadt deserved capital punishment, and was no man but had a cacodemon. And yet they became reconciled, according to the word of Scripture, 'Agree with thine adversary quickly whilst thou art in the way'!" [49]

In return for his compliance Carlstadt received permission to live at Kemberg in Saxony. It was almost inevitable that the old quarrel should break out again. In August, 1527, Carlstadt was asked for another statement of his views, and handed one to Chancellor Brück, pointedly refraining from expressing agreement with Luther. The Wittenberg professor expostulated with him quite gently,[50] but in the next year their passions flared up again. Carlstadt was exasperated by Luther's *Confession on Christ's Supper*, and the other, intercepting a letter written by his old friend to Schwenckfeld, believed that he found evidence of conspiracy. He demanded satisfaction, and even said that Carlstadt should be imprisoned.[51] Soon after this he received two pamphlets arguing the case. The only reply he made was, "If Dr. Carlstadt has an argument in the words 'dedit' [Mark, xiv. 22] and 'donec veniet' [1 Cor. xi. 26] to prove that the body and blood of Christ are not in the bread and wine and are not corporeally enjoyed, let him make the most of these words, no matter what parts of speech they are." Carlstadt then appealed to the Elector John, complaining: "I was not helped by such an answer, nor did I deserve it. Truly it were just as possible for me to take

[49] *Corp. Ref.*, xcv. 404 f.
[50] End of November, Enders, vi. 127 ff. Barge, ii. 381.
[51] Barge, ii. 388.

Dr. Luther's opinion about the sacrament with good conscience and whole heart, merely on the ground of what he has hitherto written, as it would be for me to fly in the air like a bird. . . I know that if there came an angel from heaven, and said that there was another body of Christ than his natural body given and broken for us on the cross, that angel would be an abomination and curse to me and to all believers." [52]

Early the next year he fled from Saxony, and, after wandering about, finally settled as professor at Basle. In July, 1536, we find him negotiating with Bucer at Strassburg about the Wittenberg Agreement, recently signed. He then recognized the real presence, with the proviso that the sacrament consisted of two things, an earthly, bread and wine, and a heavenly, body and blood, "yea, the Lord himself." But there was no mixture of the two, or inclusion of the latter in or with the bread.[53]

Luther's hatred of his old colleague passed all bounds. In December, 1540, he said: "If Carlstadt believes that there is any God in heaven or earth, may Christ my Lord never be kind nor gracious to me. That is a terrible imprecation, but my reason for making it is this: Dr. Carlstadt knows that concerning the bread and wine we do not utter bubbles nor hisses, but that we speak the holy, heavenly words of God Almighty, which Christ himself spoke with his holy mouth at the last supper, and commanded to be spoken. And as Carlstadt knows that we have God's word, and yet dares deliberately to cry out against it, to mock it and laugh it to scorn as a human hissing and blowing,

[52] Barge, ii. 585.
[53] Barge, ii. 604.

thus destroying the poor people with such lies and poison, and as he shows no fear, hesitation nor remorse in so doing, but only manifests joy and pleasure in such wickedness, how can he believe or think that God exists? He is possessed with devils not a few." [54]

When, in 1541, Luther heard of his rival's death, he believed the superstitious tales he heard that the devil had appeared to the dying man and haunted his house afterwards.[55] Indeed, the blind hatred of Carlstadt continued not only at Wittenberg during the Reformer's life-time, but even later.

[54] *Conversations with Luther*, p. 38 f.
[55] Letter of March 26, 1542, Enders, xiv, 219.

VII. ZWINGLI AND OECOLAMPADIUS

So crushing a blow was the ruthless suppression of the Peasant's Revolt to the more radical wing of the Protestants, that the heresy of believing that a wafer is not God might, after 1526, have fallen into the same disrepute as did the heresy of the Anabaptists, had it not been taken up and championed by two able Swiss reformers.

Ulrich Zwingli was by no means the rationalist that Voltaire [1] and many others have painted him. But in free Switzerland, at the Universities of Vienna and Basle, in converse with Erasmus and Zasius, he breathed a fresher air than did Luther in the Saxon Augustinian cloister. His temperament was even more different from Luther's than was his environment. Something of a man of the world, averse neither to pleasure nor to letters, he had never undergone that rebirth of spiritual anguish which made all Luther's thoughts center around his own salvation. While the ex-friar felt the need of some physical sign of forgiveness, and found it in the eucharist, the parish priest of Zurich imbibed from that sturdy democracy the conception of the supreme importance of fellowship, and this also he found in the communion.

If monastic piety was the special note of Luther,

[1] "This famous Zwingli seemed more zealous for liberty than for Christianity. He thought virtue sufficed to assure happiness in the other life . . . Doubtless he erred, but how human it is to err thus!" *Essai sur les moeurs,* cap. cxxix. On Zwingli in general see Smith: *Age of Reformation,* 146 ff; on his controversy with Luther, *ibid.,* 107 ff.

and democratic freedom of Zwingli, erudition may perhaps be called the note of Oecolampadius. The slowest in his development of all the Reformers, he was forty before he declared definitely for them. At Bologna, at Heidelberg, and at Tübingen, where he learned to know Melanchthon and studied Greek, he laid the foundations of sound learning. During the years 1515-18 he had the invaluable experience of aiding Erasmus in the edition of the Greek testament, his special qualification being his knowledge of Hebrew. Melanchthon sought to interest him in the Reformation,[2] but he was at first apparently repelled by it, and entered a monastery in 1520 to find peace. After two years he emerged, possibly influenced by Zwingli,[3] to whom he became a devoted friend. From this time until his death he was the leading evangelical pastor in Basle. While still in the monastery he wrote a tract [4] on the eucharist in the most orthodox Catholic style.

Like the other Reformers, Zwingli fell foul of the sacrifice of the mass. Early in 1523 he stated that the canon of the mass had been composed not by one man but by many, and that there was much in it both superfluous and unlearned, as for example the words "these gifts and offerings." [5] A little later he expounded at length his opinion that Christ had been offered once for all, and the mass was therefore not a sacrifice.[6]

[2] *Luther's Correspondence,* i. 200 ff, Melanchthon to Oecolampadius, July 21, 1519.

[3] Oecolampadius to Zwingli, Dec. 10, 1522, *Corpus Reformatorum,* xciv, 634 f.

[4] *J. Oecolampadii sermo de sacramento eucharistiae.* [Colophon] Augsburg, June 20, 1521.

[5] *Corpus Ref.,* lxxxviii. 539.

[6] *Corpus Ref.,* lxxxix. 111 ff. Zwingli was doubtless influenced by

His principal support for this view is the Epistle to the Hebrews, with its anti-Pauline polemic. One source for his doctrine he mentions is Luther's *Sermon on the New Testament* (1520), with which he declares himself well pleased, at the same time asserting that he had taught the gospel in 1516, before he had heard of Luther.[7]

In August, 1523, he published a short *Essay on the Canon of the Mass*,[8] supporting the same views at more length. He objects even to the name "mass" as not used by Christ, by Paul, or by the ancients. In examining word by word the canon of the mass, he proposes that the passage describing the institution be brought back exactly and fully to the New Testament. He objects to transubstantiation, while expressly declaring that the body of Christ is eaten and drunk with the bread and wine.[9] As he wished to change nothing save what he regarded as contrary to the gospel, the book was too conservative for some of his Zurich parishioners, and he was obliged to publish another tract to defend it[10] from them. On the other side he had to guard it from the attacks of the Catholic Emser.[11]

Liturgic reform proceeded slowly. In October, 1523, the three parish priests of Zurich announced that on Christmas day communion would be given in both kinds and that thenceforth exposition of Scripture

Luther, but he had a predecessor at Zurich in Benedict Dischmacher, who denied the sacrifice of the mass in 1522. *Corpus Ref.*, xcvi. 35.

[7] *Ibid.*, 137 f, 144 ff.

[8] *De canone missae epicheresis*, the last word explained by him as "conatus," *ibid.*, 556 ff.

[9] *Ibid.*, 589 f.

[10] *De canone missae libelli apologia, Corpus Ref.* lxxxix. 617 ff.

[11] *Adversus H. Emserum Antibolon*, 1524. *Corpus Ref.* xc. 230 ff.

would take the place of the mass. But the council, on October 27, decreed that things should be left as they were. On December 19 they conceded further discussion, which took place in January. But action was still deferred, and it was not until April 12, 1525, that mass was celebrated for the last time at Zurich, and thenceforward a communion service substituted for it.[12]

In 1523 Zwingli's ideas of a necessary reform were very modest. In working over the canon of the mass he had inserted new prayers in place of old ones, but still in Latin, and had even left words like "hostia" and "oblatio," only trying to give them a new sense.[13] The liturgy which Zwingli prepared in March or April, 1525, under the title *Procedure or Use of the Supper*,[14] as much more radical. Its language is German. The communicants are assembled in the nave, the men on the right the women on the left around a table furnished with unleavened bread and with wine. The minister passes the bread around in plates, which, to avoid unnecessary luxury, are to be made of wood. The first service, on Maundy Thursday, was for the young, the second, on Holy Friday, for the middle-aged, and the third, on Easter, for the old. Four communions a year, at Easter, Whitsuntide, September 11 and Christmas were originally planned. The gospel for the day was appointed to be John vi. 47-63, and after the reading the Catholic "kiss of peace" was bestowed on the book. After an admonition to think of the Lord's death, and a prayer, the communion began with the reading of 1 Cor. xi. 23-26, and the distribution of bread and wine.

[12] Kidd, 409, 438, 441. *Corpus Ref.* xci, 4 ff.
[13] *Corpus Ref.*, xci. 2.
[14] *Ibid.*, 13 ff. *Aktion oder Bruch des Nachtmahls.*

Confession and absolution were abolished as a preparation for communion, but as it was felt necessary to exclude persons of scandalous life from the Lord's table, Zwingli drew up a memorial [15] on this subject. Besides such criminals as murderers, perjurers, and robbers, he proposed to excommunicate adulterers, fornicators, blasphemers, drunkards, and usurers who took more than 5% interest. His plan, however, met with practical difficulties in execution.

Similar reforms were slow in being carried out in other Swiss cities. Not until 1529 was Oecolampadius able to announce that the mass had been abolished and the images taken out of the churches and burned. "This spectacle," said he, "was forsooth very sad to the superstitious. They had to weep blood. . . Thus, while we raged against idols the mass died of sorrow." [16]

In 1524 Zwingli arrived at the belief that the bread and wine were mere signs of the body and blood of Jesus. He derived this opinion chiefly from Honius, the much appealed to Dutch theologian. That he did so is recorded by his friend Kessler,[17] and is now proved by a just published letter, in which he confesses his full debt to Honius, "that moderately learned and immoderately pious man." [18]

It is also certain that Carlstadt greatly influenced Zwingli, although the latter rejected many details in the former's reasoning. Leo Jud first persuaded Zwingli to read the sacramentarian, whereupon the Zuricher avowed that he liked much and disliked much

[15] *Corpus Ref.*, xci. 25 ff.
[16] To Capito, Feb. 13, 1529, Kidd, 466.
[17] John Kessler: *Sabbata*, 1904, p. 138.
[18] To Krautwald &c, April 17, 1526, *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 567 ff.

in what he read. In particular he could not agree with the grammatical argument from the gender of τοῦτο.[19] In the autumn of 1524 Carlstadt came to Zurich, but Zwingli was persuaded by "certain persons of melancholy spirit" not to grant him an audience.[20] Oecolampadius judged Carlstadt more favorably.[21]

Once the slightest divergence of creed was started between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers it was sure to be widened by the intense self-consciousness and touchiness of each party. During the first years after the posting of the Ninety-five Theses, indeed, Zwingli had nothing but admiration for the bold rebel against ecclesiastical oppression. He called him another Elijah, and persuaded Zasius not to write against him.[22] But his opinion soon became more reserved. In July, 1522, he refuses to be called either a Lutheran or a Hussite, and says that if Luther's doctrine resembles his it is because both have drunk from the same biblical fountains.[23] A few months later he makes the same assertion more positively, saying that he does not defend Luther but the gospel.[24] He had begun to preach in 1516 before he ever heard of Luther, and refuses to be called by his name, though he approves of his doctrine.[25] In 1525, as already related, Zwingli was alienated by the violence of the work *Against the Heavenly Prophets of Images and the Sacrament.* Still more was he offended by the Wittenberger's ferocious

[19] Barge, ii. 260.
[20] *Ibid.*, 216.
[21] *Ibid.*, 262.
[22] *Luther's Correspondence,* i. 251, note 1; p. 304. In 1519 and 1520.
[23] *Corpus Ref.,* lxxxix, 224.
[24] *Ibid.*, 437.
[25] *Corpus Ref.,* xc. 147.

pamphlet against the peasants.[26] Even had he not approved the revolt, as he did,[27] he might well have been repelled by the cruelty of the Reformer who urged the authorities to stab, smite, and slay the poor, misguided rustics.

Luther on his side assumed that he had a monopoly of truth and that those who advanced independent opinions were, so to speak, infringing his copyright. Carlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, said he, would never have learned to know Christ's gospel rightly "if Luther had not written of it first." [28] But when they dared not only to discover new truths, but to defend them, they were rebels and traitors to the cause. "I am compelled," he wrote in January, 1526, "to bear with these sons of my body, my Absoloms, who withstand me so furiously. They are scourges of the sacrament, compared to whose madness the papists are mild. I never understood before how evil a spirit is Satan, nor did I comprehend Paul's words about spiritual wickedness." [29] A year later he wrote: "Hitherto I have suffered in all ways. But not until now did my Absolom, my dear son, hunt and shame his father David. My Judas [Zwingli] had not yet shamed the disciples and betrayed his Master, but now he has done his worst on me." [30]

Zwingli's first utterance on the subject is found in his *Epistle to Matthew Alber*,[31] a Lutheran pastor of Reutlingen, on the Lord's Supper, dated November 16,

[26] *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 471, to Vadian, Dec. 23, 1525.
[27] *Historiche Zeitschrift*, cx. 90.
[28] Weimar, xxiii. 34 f.
[29] *Luther's Correspondence*, ii. 363.
[30] Smith, *Luther*, 241.
[31] *Corpus Ref.*, xc. 322 ff.

1524. It was intended as an "open letter," for, though not printed until March, 1525, it was widely circulated in manuscript, copies of it being sent to a number of selected ministers in Switzerland and South Germany. It was not even sent to its addressee, whose strong Lutheran bias was considered unassailable. The reason for this disingenuous procedure was doubtless the wish, on Zwingli's part, to spread his views abroad without exciting quarrels. The content of the letter is an examination of Carlstadt's arguments, and, along with the rejection of many of them, especially of the famous τοῦτο, the acceptance of his main position.

The letter was sent to Luther by Nicholas Gerbel of Strassburg, in April if not earlier.[32]

In the meantime Luther's *Letter to the Christians of Strassburg* had been printed. Capito sent it to Zwingli on February 6, 1525, blaming it for lack of moderation, but censuring Carlstadt still more severely for vainglory. Capito begged his friend to be careful, as he feared the Imperial Diet would act against them for Carlstadt's heresy. Their church, he said, had long been convinced that the bread remained true bread, nor was the body of Christ present in it, for that was absent in heaven.[33]

In March, 1525, Zwingli published his *Commentary on true and false Religion*, setting forth his theological system at length. A large section of this is devoted to the Lord's Supper.[34] He notes that the Greeks, more learned and pious than the Latins, called it

[32] Gerbel to Luther, Enders, v. 155, there dated April 10-11. The St. Louis Walch edition, xxia, p. 734, makes the probable suggestion that the letter should really be placed earlier.

[33] *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 299 ff.

[34] *Corpus Ref.*, xc. 772 ff.

"eucharist," or thanksgiving, and that Paul spoke of it (1 Cor. xvi. 16) as communion. He finds Christ's weightiest words on the subject in John vi. 26 ff. These do not, says he, refer to the sacramental bread, but to faith, the real food of believers. Many really eat the communion bread without being in Christ, but those who feed on him in faith are his. Jesus says expressly that the flesh profiteth nothing, meaning that it profiteth nothing as food, for it certainly profited much as the victim on the cross. These words, however, he thinks, prove the body is not present in the bread "really, corporeally or essentially." To pretend to eat the body is godless, foolish and "a human gobbling." Expounding the words "This is my body," Zwingli says that "is" means "signifies." He then adds a few words against Emser, on the sacrifice of the mass. He concludes: "And so the Supper, be it called eucharist, communion, or Lord's meal, is nothing else than a commemoration, by which those who believe steadfastly in the reconciliation with the Father through Christ's death and blood, proclaim, that is, praise, give thanks for, and preach this death-unto-life." All the older fathers, it is stated, have so understood it.

There was no lack of champions to take up the gauntlet. Willibald Pirckheimer of Nuremberg wrote at once on the Lutheran side. Oecolampadius informed him, in a letter dated April 25, 1525, that the town council of Basle would summon a conference on the sacrament, but nothing came of this.[35]

In August, 1525, Bugenhagen, the parish priest of Wittenberg, published a letter *Against the new error*

[35] Schubert in *Z. K. G.*, xxix. 324.

in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. Nicholas von Amsdorf, formerly a colleague of Luther and now pastor of Magdeburg, took up the cudgels in the same cause. These works aroused less sympathy than opposition. Lewis Hetzer of Augsburg said that the former ought to be hissed and that the latter was worse than cowdung.[36] On his side Bugenhagen wrote:[37] "Zwingli calls us carnivores and deniers of the redemption of the cross, because we confess the body and blood of Christ in the sacrament." But, he adds, Zwingli is no theologian.

Oecolampadius, who had conferred with Zwingli on the subject in 1524, now hastened to his friend's assistance with a pamphlet on *The genuine Exposition of the Lord's words, This is my Body, according to the most ancient authors.*[38] He traced the whole error of the real presence to Peter Lombard. "This is my body" he called a trope, no more literally to be understood than Paul's saying that Christ was a rock. No miracle is performed by the priest. The superstition in the new worship of bread, as seen for example in Corpus Christi day, is severely scored by him. The Bible is stated to be above the sacraments and the only essential to salvation. Many of the ancient fathers are quoted.

A fresh crop of refutations immediately appeared. James Strauss of Eisenach wrote two tracts against Zwingli and Oecolampadius, calling their opinion "a lamentable confounding of many thousand simple Christians."[39]

[36] Barge, ii. 238.
[37] To Gerbel, Nov. 4, 1525, Vogt, 52 ff.
[38] *J. Oecolampadii de genuina Verborum Domini, &c, liber,* 1525.
[39] Barge, ii. 256.

J. Brenz, a Swabian clergyman, wrote two works on the subject. One was an open letter to Bucer.[40] The other was published by his colleagues in Swabia, under the name *Syngramma*, in October, 1525.[41] To the German translation of this, in 1526, Luther wrote a preface stating that his arguments advanced in the work *Against the Heavenly Prophets* have not yet been overcome, and blaming his opponents for relying only on reason. About the same time some of his sermons on the subject were published with the title, *On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ against the Ranting Spirits*.[42] Of this Zwingli said that Luther admonished them hardly more civilly than he had the rebellious peasants.[43]

With the Lutherans the Catholics made common cause. On October 28, 1525, Eck directed a long letter to the Swiss Confederates begging them not to be led astray by Zwingli and Oecolampadius. The former had once recognized Luther as a master, why should he not do so now, when at last Luther was right? The sad results of these errors in Germany are painted. Oecolampadius's name Husschein is punned on, for he is dubbed "ein hussischer schein." Eck says that he has just been through the Netherlands and England, and of seventy cities he visited only three were Lutheran, and in two of these three nothing was changed in the church service.[44]

Cardinal Cajetan also felt called upon to condemn the new heresy in two pronouncements of 1525.[45] In

[40] *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 438, note.
[41] Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 80 ff.
[42] Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 83.
[43] To Vadian, Dec. 23, 1525, *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 471.
[44] *Briefmappe*, i., ed. Greving, 1912, pp. 154 ff.
[45] *Instructio nuncii circa errores libelli de cena domini per capita*

combating the Zwinglians he advanced a remarkably free interpretation of the Catholic doctrine. Christ, said he, is not eaten "corporeally or perceptibly" but "spiritually and without perception of either the sense or the intellect, simply by faith that his body is taken in the eucharist." The "corporeal eating" relates only to the "sacramental species of the bread and wine, under which is contained the true flesh of Christ; but the spiritual eating, which is done through the soul, pertains to the flesh of Christ existing in the sacrament."

Another Catholic apology was written by John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. He made the most of the dissensions among the Reformers, and violently attacked Luther, Carlstadt, and Melanchthon. Oecolampadius was said to err even more than Luther, and a very lengthy refutation of his propositions was given.[46]

Erasmus, too, came very near being drawn into the controversy. Notwithstanding Melanchthon's opinion than "the whole tragedy of the Lord's Supper originated from Erasmus" [47] the humanist always professed orthodoxy. He did indeed point out that the sacrifice of the mass was not a dogma officially sanctioned,[48] and he ventured to criticize those priests who regarded the mass chiefly as a means of livelihood.[49] Nevertheless he occasionally spoke of the mass as a sacrifice and

. . . *iussu Clementis VII; Tractatus de erroribus contingentibus in Eucharistiae Sacramento.* Both analysed by Lauchert, 157 ff.

[46] *De veritate corporis et sanguinis Christi in eucharistia per reverendum in Christo patrem ac Dominum D. Johannem Roffensem Episcopum adversus Johannem Oecolampadium.* Coloniae. 1527.

[47] *Corpus Reformatorum,* i. 1083; iv. 970; Jackson, 85.

[48] *Apology to Certain Spanish Monks,* 1528, *Opera,* ix. 1064-6.

[49] *Opera,* iii. 1274.

by so doing put his works, even during his lifetime, under the ban of the Protestants.[50]

On the doctrine of the real presence Erasmus was at first impressed by the arguments of the Swiss. On October 2, 1525, he wrote Michael Buda, Bishop of Langres:[51]

> A new dogma has arisen, that the eucharist is nothing but bread and wine. It is difficult to refute. Oecolampadius has supported it with such copious and powerful arguments and citations that it seems as if the elect might be seduced.

Again he wrote to Pirckheimer, one of his best friends, June 6, 1526:

> Oecolampadius' opinion of the eucharist would not displease me were it not opposed to the consensus of the church. For I do not see what is the function of the body which cannot be apprehended by the senses, nor what use it would be if it could be grasped by the senses, provided that a spiritual grace is present in the symbols. But the authority of the church binds me.[52]

Again he wrote to the same friend, July 30, 1526:

> I should have some doubts, as one little learned, on the eucharist, if the authority of the church, by which I mean the consensus of Christians throughout the world, did not reassure me.[53]

Erasmus was evidently more than half convinced by the arguments of the Swiss, and yet believed it better to resign his right of private judgment in a point positively decided by the church. At the same time he had no wish to be drawn into the quarrel, though vigorous efforts were made to induce him to defend the Catholic position.[54] In the latter part of

[50] Myconius to Bullinger, June 24, 1535, *Corpus Ref.*, xxxviiib, col. 47.

[51] *Epistolae, London,* 1642, xx, 60.

[52] *Epistolae,* 1642, xxx, 44.

[53] *Ibid,* xxx, 43.

[54] P. Toussain to Farel, Sept. 18, 1525, Herminjard i, 385; Botzheim to Erasmus, Feb. 2, 1527, Förstemann und Günther: *Briefe an Erasmus,* 1904, p. 64; G. Thomas to Erasmus, Aug. 31, 1527, *ibid.,* p. 85.

1526, indeed, he began a work against Oecolampadius, but gave it up, as he wrote Pirckheimer, fearing that it would profit no one and might only excite tumult, and seeing that Fisher and the Parisians had already refuted the Swiss heretic.[55] When Pirckheimer himself wrote against Oecolampadius, Erasmus blamed him for seeming to wish to agree with Luther rather than with the church.[56]

On the other hand he indignantly resented an effort made to enlist the authority of his name in support of the Swiss doctrine. Leo Jud, a friend of Zwingli, under the pseudonym of Lewis Leopold, published in German: *The opinion of the most learned Erasmus of Rotterdam and of Dr. Martin Luther on the Supper.*[57] The ingenious author tries to prove by quotations from Erasmus's works that he regards the bread and wine as mere symbols, and then deduces that Luther ought to believe the same because he believes there is no difference between the priest, who consecrates the elements, and any layman.

The pamphlet came at once to Erasmus's attention and on May 15, 1526, he wrote to the synod assembled at Baden that this book showed both ignorance and malice, and that it was a shame that the publication of such works, once a capital crime, should now be

[55] *Pirckheimeri Opera,* ed. Goldast, 1610, p. 286. Dated "postridie Lucae" (Oct. 19), 1527.

[56] *Opera Erasmi,* 1703, iii. 941.

[57] *Des Hochgelerten Erasmi von Roterdam und Doctor Martin Luthers maynung vom Nachtmal . . .* 1526. [Colophon] April 18, 1526. Ludovicus Leopoldi Pfarrer zu Leberaw. I use the copy in the Bodleian Library, Tract. Luth. 46, no. 16. On the authorship see *Bibliotheca Erasmiana,* 1893, iii. 32, and the *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* vi, (1906) p. 265, where Frecht writes to Vadian, Nov. 3, 1543, that the book has just been republished and that some think Leopold is Leo Jud.

the sport of men who claimed to represent the gospel.[58] In like tenor he wrote an open letter [59] to all lovers of the truth, saying that the deep difference between the Reformers and himself is best testified by them. For himself, he wrote again, he regarded their differences among themselves as mutually discreditable and piously hoped that those who have followed Berengar in his error will also follow him in his repentance.[60]

In private letters he also defended himself. To Conrad Pellican, an evangelical pastor, he wrote that the latter's insinuations that they had the same belief on the eucharist were false. "The church persuaded me to believe the gospel; the same mistress shall teach me to interpret the words of the gospel." [61] He even expressed his willingness to be torn to pieces rather than assert that the sacrament was but bread and wine.[62] To Pellican he wrote again: "You threaten me with Zwingli's pen; in a matter I really care about I fear not ten Zwinglis. See how the world is drenched with blood for the sake of a few ambiguous articles! I would rather dissemble my belief in ten such articles than bring on such evils." [63]

Another humanist who wrote in the conservative sense was Paracelsus,[64] whose pamphlets *On the Supper* and *That the Flesh and Blood are in the Bread and Wine*, appeared in the early thirties.

The Zwinglians did not waste time in refuting the

[58] *Epistolae,* 1642, xix, 45.
[59] *Ibid.,* xxx, 58, June, 1526. *Cf. Praestigiarum libelli cujusdam Detectio,* June, 1526, *Opera,* x, 1557 f.
[60] In the *Hyperastistes,* Part I, 1526, *Opera,* x, 1263.
[61] *Epistolae,* 1642, xix, 95.
[62] *Opera,* 1703, iii, 894; *Corpus Ref., xcv,* 395, 407 ff, 725.
[63] *Epistolae,* 1642, xix, 96. Compressed translation.
[64] A. M. Stoddart: *Paracelsus,* 1911, p. 255.

Catholics, for they had all they could do to grapple with their fellow Protestants. By this time all efforts to reconcile them had become vain. When the Strassburgers sent an embassy with this purpose to Luther in 1525, he curtly remarked: "One party or the other must be from Satan. The Holy Spirit is no pettifogger, but what he says is certain." [65] "Posterity will laugh," wrote Capito to Ambrose Blaurer, "at our quarrels over the symbol of union." [66] "We have come to the point," observed Gerbel to Bugenhagen, "that from the symbol of supreme love to us arise such hatreds, such wrath, such enmities!" [67] Even to Zwingli, more moderate than his opponent, Capito wrote: "What you are collecting in three articles to combat the bread-flesh and the impanate God is a useful labor, but I fear you are too vehement for conditions of peace." [68]

To Luther Oecolampadius made a *Reasonable Answer* [69] in 1526, directed at the Swabian "Syngramma." He defended Carlstadt and complained that Luther called them false prophets and blasphemers because they had said his God was a "baked God," and a "bread God" and that he was a "God-flesh-eater," and "God-blood-drinker." For his own part Oecolampadius believed in a crucified God, not in a bread God. He praised Luther in everything except in the sacrament.

Zwingli also published in February, 1526, *A Clear Explanation of Christ's Supper.* Along with cogent

[65] Baum, 335.
[66] Blaurer, i. 124 f. Nov. 26, 1525.
[67] Vogt, 60, Jan. 1526.
[68] Feb. 3, 1526, *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 517.
[69] *Billiche Antwort J. Ecolampadij auf D. Martin Luthers Bericht des sacramentts halb.* 1526.

argument in support of his opinion he alleged that its truth had been revealed to him in a dream. This method of proof unfortunately impressed Luther with the idea that Zwingli's "spirit" was akin to that of Münzer and the Zwickau prophets who had cultivated dreams with such disastrous results. This strange relic of superstition is all the more striking in that Zwingli made the most of the impossibility of the existence of the substance of the flesh without its being perceptible to the senses. He compared the trope "this is my body" to Christ's saying "I am the true vine," a mere figure, of course, and not literally true.[70]

These works had so much success that their authors were able to prophecy that within three years all Christendom would be converted to their opinion. A conference held at Baden in June showed that the more respected and greater part of the ministers agreed with the Swiss, including all the Strassburgers but Hedio. In that city, Gerbel said, Luther's books were seldom sold, either because of the machinations of his opponents or because all were so pleased with their "significat" that they despised other interpretations. Everyone hoped for eventual union, for it was thought that the schism hurt the evangelical cause more than had the Peasants' Revolt.[71] When Luther's works were read, it was said [72] to be with the purpose of confirming the people in the opinion opposite to his.

At Nuremberg, on the other hand, Zwingli's works were proscribed. Their author protested in a letter to the council dated July 2, 1526. He said it was im-

[70] Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 72 ff.

[71] Gerbel to Bugenhagen, June 5, Vogt, 62 f. Gerbel to Luther, June 5, Enders, v. 356.

[72] Capito to Zwingli, Oct. 17, 1526. *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 749 f.

possible that Christ's body could be eaten, he called the elements signs only, he averred that John and the "whole chorus of the learned ancients until 400" teach this, and that the contrary belief is repugnant to the article of the creed, "He ascended into heaven and sitteth at the right hand of God." [73]

This letter only called forth another rebuttal from Pirckheimer of that city, directed also against Oecolampadius. In reply to Zwingli's last argument Pirckheimer drew from Scotus the theory of the ubiquity of Christ's body, afterwards taken up and made classic by Luther.[74] The work itself was written, says Oecolampadius, "with as much charity as the devil himself has." He wrote an answer to it, which he thinks "that insane beast [Pirckheimer] will try to eat alive." [75]

From Nuremberg, on the other side, the humanist John Haner wrote Zwingli that the word ἐπιούσιος in the Lord's prayer proved that Christ's presence in the bread should be understood in a spiritual sense.[76]

In the early spring of 1527 Zwingli published two polemics, *A Friendly Exegesis of Christ's Words*,[77] in Latin, and *A Friendly Appeasement and Rebuttal*, in German.[78] As his arguments have by this time become familiar to us, they need not be repeated. At the close of the *Exegesis* he says that persistence in Luther's error becomes impiety. Both works he sent to Luther with a letter of April 1, ill calculated, by its supercilious tone, to allay the wrath of the Wittenberg professor, to whom he said: "You have produced

[73] *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 634 ff.
[74] *E. R. E.*, v. 568.
[75] To Zwingli, Feb. 28, 1527, *Corpus Ref.*, xcvi. 59.
[76] *Corpus Ref.*, xcvi. 65.
[77] Schuler und Schulthess, iii. 459 ff.
[78] *Ibid.*, ii, part ii, 1 ff.

nothing on this subject worthy either of yourself or of the Christian religion and yet your ferocity daily increases." "Zwingli has sent me his foolish book," wrote Luther on May 4, "together with a letter from his own hand worthy of his haughty spirit. So gentle was he, raging, foaming, and threatening, that he seems to me incurable and condemned by manifest truth. But my comprehensive book has profited many." [79]

The work alluded to appeared almost simultaneously with Zwingli's under the title: *That the Words, This is my Body, still stand fast against the Ranting Spirits.*[80] After stating that he had already treated the matter so thoroughly that no one could go astray in it save he who wished to err, Luther blamed the "famous humility" of the ranters, as being, in reality, nothing but arrogance and scorn. His first section is an exegesis of the words of institution with the insistence that they be taken literally. Zwingli says "is" means "signifies," and Oecolampadius that "body" means "sign of my body," by which they are falsifying Scripture. One could make any text mean anything by this method. You might just as well say that the first verse of Genesis meant "In the beginning the cuckoo ate the hedge-sparrows with feathers and all," and defend it by averring that "God" meant "cuckoo," "made" meant "ate," and "heaven and earth" meant "hedge-sparrows with feathers and all." If anyone asks, "What devil suggested that to you?" the answer is plain: the same devil that suggested their exegesis to the Swiss reformers. No, they have nothing for them

[79] Smith, *Luther*, 242; *Luther's Correspondence*, ii. 398 f.
[80] Weimar, xxiii. 38 ff.

but simple blasphemy, by which they strangle Christ and the church; and then they say Luther ought to keep peace with them!

The second section of this "comprehensive work" is devoted to proving the ubiquity of Christ's body. The third part is an extraordinarily extended exegesis of John vi, followed by proofs from the fathers, Augustine, Tertullian, Irenaeus, Hilarius, and Cyprian. The final section emphasizes the use and necessity of the actual eating of the Saviour's body.

The work produced various effects. At Strassburg, Hedio was of the hopeful opinion that it showed that the two sides were not so far apart, and that such men of God as were Luther, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius might well be reconciled. Another person, unnamed, made bold to remark that this pamphlet — *The Antiranter*,[81] as it was called — had in it nothing of Paul's spirit.

Zwingli was greatly exasperated by the work's tone, and said that "its whole contents was nothing but lies, slander, sycophancy and suspicion." [82] He composed a reply to it, entitled, *That the Words of Christ, "This is my Body," still have the same old Sense, and that Martin Luther with his last Book has not proved his own and the pope's Sense.*[83] The argument brought forth no new points. In tone it was, quite naturally, sharper than anything that had previously come from the Zurich reformer's pen. It was published in June, 1527.

Luther's answer, a huge *Confession on Christ's*

[81] "Antischwermerus." Gerbel to Luther, end of May, 1527, Enders, vi. 58 f.

[82] Smith, *Luther*, 242.

[83] Schuler und Schulthess, ii. part ii, 16 ff.

Supper,[84] appeared in the February following. He expressed his joy that his words have so greatly angered Satan, by which sign he knows that they have done much good. His argument, too, is the same old one, an insistence on taking the words of institution literally, an endeavor to show that the real presence is possible, and a sharp critique of Zwingli's philosophy and exegesis.

This polemic only increased the rage without shaking the convictions of the sacramentarians. Zwingli judged that it was "a fog through which one cannot clearly see the mystery of Christ, an example of denying what one has affirmed a little before, a spouting geyser of enormous cursing." [85] Again, he complained [86] that Luther incautiously murders reason, human and divine, which otherwise might easily have come to her own among the pious. He fears that any answer will be in vain, as Luther, a true Scotist and Thomist, closes his ears.

He and Oecolampadius nevertheless produced rebuttals, printed together as *Two Answers to Martin Luther's Book, called a Confession.*[87] The authors merely show that they have exhausted the arguments on their side, as they are not able to advance fresh reasons.

By this time the Lutherans were ready to make common cause with the Catholics against the newer sects. The Diet of Spires, passed a decree, on April 22, 1529, that those who denied the body and blood of Christ

[84] Weimar, xxvi. 241.

[85] To Ambrose Blaurer, July 21, *Blaurer*, i. 162.

[86] To Conrad Som, August 30, 1528, Stähelin: *Brief aus der Reformationszeit, Basel*, 1887, p. 21.

[87] Both are republished in Walch's edition of Luther's works, xx. cols. 1538-1884.

should not be represented in the estates of the Empire.[88] A distinction was thus made in favor of the Lutherans, to whom limited toleration was granted.

The political weakness of the Protestants due to division made their statesmen desire a cessation of their mutual animosities in order to enable them to make front against the common foe. Philip of Hesse had cherished the idea of a conference ever since it was suggested to him, at the Diet of Spires of 1526, by James Sturm. The notorious Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg was also anxious to heal the schism. Luther was approached on the subject in 1527, but refused to consider it.[89] Notwithstanding the increased bitterness of the war of pens, making Luther feel more and more deeply the hopelessness of harmony, yet Philip kept urging him to it until finally, in the summer of 1529, he got his consent. It was now Melanchthon's turn to raise objections. He thought that a conference with Oecolampadius might be good, but not with Zwingli, and that if there were a meeting "some honorable and reasonable papists" ought to be present.[90]

The objections of all parties were finally overcome, and a meeting was arranged which took place October 1-3, 1529, at Philip's castle at Marburg. As a basis of discussion Luther and Melanchthon drew up, before they went, a confession of faith commonly called the Schwabach Articles, in which their differences with the Zwinglians, particularly in the 10th article, on the Supper, were sharply set forth.[91]

Besides the principal Saxon and Swiss reformers, a

[88] Mirbt, 198 f.
[89] Schubert in *Z. K. G.*, xxix. 330 ff.
[90] *Corpus Ref.*, i. 1067.
[91] Schubert, p. 20 ff.

number of divines from South German cities were present. The first conferences, on October 1, were private: Luther with Oecolampadius, Melanchthon with Zwingli, and Bucer and Hedio with Brentz and Osiander. These were followed, on October 2 and 3, by a public debate between Luther on the one side and Zwingli and Oecolampadius on the other.[92] The arguments were the old, familiar ones. Luther wrote on the table before him "This is my body," and repeated over and over that it was all-sufficient. Zwingli and Oecolampadius again countered this with the verse "The flesh profiteth nothing," and Luther's theories about the ubiquity of Christ's body, with the article "He ascended into heaven." Here it became more clear than ever — not indeed to those present, but to us — that the reason for these interminable beatings about the bush lay in the fact that both parties started from a false premise, namely that reason and Scripture could be reconciled. If that is postulated, then, when an incomprehensible statement is made in the Bible, there are only two ways of disposing of it. The first is to say that the proposition is true, though repugnant to reason, an actual fact though impossible. The second is to explain away the meaning of the text and to show that it really signifies something else than what it says. Luther had no difficulty in showing that the Bible really taught that the bread and the body of Christ were in some manner identical; where he failed was in showing how this was possible. Zwingli was equally able to prove that the real presence was

[92] Eight contemporary accounts printed, Weimar, xxx, part iii, 94 ff. Also consult S. M. Jackson: *Zwingli,* p. 315. Smith: "A Decade of Luther Study," *Harvard Theological Review,* xiv, 1921, p. 119.

inconceivable and absurd; his difficulty lay in explaining away the categorical statements of the New Testament. And so all parties retained their former opinions.

Although next to nothing had been accomplished, Philip was anxious to have something to show for his trouble and so induced the divines present to draw up a statement of their common beliefs. Fourteen of the resultant Marburg Articles deal with points agreed on by both sides; the fifteenth states that they are unable to agree on "the bodily presence of the body and blood" and that each side prays for enlightenment. These articles were signed by Luther, Jonas, Melanchthon, Osiander, Agricola, Brentz, Oecolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer and Hedio.

When, however, it came to personal intercourse, Luther refused the proferred hand of Zwingli with the remark, especially stinging on account of its previous connotation, that the Swiss had a different spirit from his own. The Landgrave did all he could, wrote Bucer, to make the opponents friends, but the Lord willed that Luther would have no peace with them save what he had with Turks and Jews. Melanchthon was said to be even more unconciliatory, if possible.[93]

Before leaving, the Wittenbergers handed Philip a memorial supporting their contention by quotations from Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Irenaeus, Theophylact, and Cyril.[94] Zwingli, on his part, induced the Landgrave to remove the prohibition of his books in Hesse.[95] In other small ways, too, the conference

[93] Bucer to A. Blaurer, Oct. 18, 1529, *Blaurer*, i. 197 f.
[94] De Wette, iii. 508.
[95] Kessler, 325.

indirectly advanced the cause of union. The articles discussed at Marburg formed the basis of the *Confessio Tetrapolitana* handed in by the South Germans at Augsburg in 1530. Perhaps the subsequent agreements, at Württemberg in 1534 and at Wittenberg two years later were in some way helped by the Marburg colloquy.[96]

But at the time the two parties seemed as far apart as ever. While Zwingli spoke contemptuously of what had been accomplished, Luther said that all union between them would be a pretence.[97] The difference, he thought,[98] was greater than that which separated the Eastern and the Western Catholics.

In November or December 1529, the Saxons theologians drew up a strong memorial advising their leaders to have neither political nor other dealings with the Swiss. An alliance might be made even with the heathen, it was said, but not with the Zwinglians, as Paul, in Titus iii, expressly commands us to shun heretics. The Zwinglians despise the clear word of God and cannot be considered weaker brethren.[99]

A position quite consistent with this was taken by the Lutherans at Augsburg in 1530, when much was conceded to the Catholics. "God is my witness," wrote Melanchthon in August to the Emperor's preacher, Giles, "that I desire peace for no other reason so much as that I see, if there is not peace, it shall come to pass that we shall be joined with the Zwinglians." [100] The tenth article of the first part of the Augsburg

[96] Schubert, *Z K. G.*, xxxx. 66 ff, 77.
[97] Enders, viii. 354.
[98] Schubert, *Z. K. G.*, xxx. 63.
[99] Schirrmacher, 144 ff.
[100] Schirrmacher, 247.

Confession, as printed in 1531, expressly condemns those who teach that the body and blood of Christ are not truly present in the Lord's Supper.[101] It is probable that in the lost original form of the Confession the agreement of Lutheran and Catholic and the disagreement with the sacramentarians was still more strongly stated.[102]

After the Marburg conference Zwingli's views underwent no essential change, though he perhaps became a little less intransigeant. His *Fidei Ratio* of July, 1530, expresses the belief that the true body of Christ is present by contemplation of faith, though not essentially or really, and not in a manner allowing it to be eaten, as the papists "and those who look back at the flesh-pots of Egypt," *i.e.* the Lutherans, think.[103] A similar spiritual and sacramental eating of Christ's body is maintained in the *Fidei Christianae Expositio* of 1531.[104]

Shortly after writing this Zwingli lost his life in the battle of Cappel (Oct. 11, 1531) and Oecolampadius did not survive him long. Luther always insisted in regarding their fate as a judgment of God, and a great triumph for his own faction. Zwingli was damned for his errors, said he, or, if God did save his soul, he did it *extra regulam*.[105]

Of Zwingli's death Luther said: "God's treatment of our adversaries made clear to me at Coburg the meaning of those words in the decalogue, 'I am a jealous God.' For the punishment meted out to

[101] Kidd, 264.
[102] "Abendmahl," *R. G. G.*, i. 74.
[103] Kidd, 473.
[104] *Ibid.*, 44 f.
[105] Smith, *Luther*, 289 ff.

them is not so cruel as our defence is necessary. Thus, they say, Zwingli has perished, whose error, had it prevailed, would have destroyed us along with the church. It is a judgment of God . . . The Zwinglians called God 'a God made bread (impanatum),' but now it will come to pass that he will be an iron God to them. Oecolampadius called the Lord's Supper [as celebrated by the Lutherans] the feast of Thyestes, a flesh-eating, blood-drinking, &c. We now say to them: 'Here you have what you have sought. God once said that he would not hold him guiltless who took his name in vain.' It was exceedingly blasphemous for them to call God 'made bread,' and us flesh-eaters, blood-drinkers and God-devourers." [106]

[106] *Conversations with Luther*, p. 14 f.

VIII. SCHWENCKFELD

If the humanists represented in general the conservative dogma of the real presence, the numerous sects known collectively as Anabaptists were for the most part liberals in this regard.[1] It was merely because their other dogmas, considered by the orthodox still more objectionable, cast this one into the shade that they as a rule took no more prominent part in the sacramentarian dispute. In the same year in which the colloquy at Marburg was held, another debate on the same question was ordered by the King of Denmark at Flensburg.[2] There, on April 8, 1529, in his presence and in that of Prince Christian of Norway, of the Provost of Reinebecke and of other dignitaries, some Lutheran theologians, headed by Bugenhagen, maintained the real presence against the attacks of Melchior Hoffmann and other Anabaptists. Hoffmann said that all who believed that the bread was really Christ were false prophets. After an acrimonious controversy, one of the radicals, J. Hegge, confessed that he had been wrong.

A sectarian claiming independence of all parties was Casper Schwenckfeld of Silesia. Though professing to find the "Middle Way" between Catholics and Protestants, in reality he had several points or resem-

[1] One author (P. Althaus: *Zur Charakteristik der evangelischen Gebetsliteratur im Reformationsjahrundert,* 1914, pp. 26 ff) has made the statement, incomprehensible to me, that the eucharistic prayers of the Anabaptists are Erasmian and represent a Calvinistic view.

[2] *Acta der Disputation zu Flensburg.* 1529.

blance with the Anabaptists.[3] He was precipitated into the controversy by the publication, in 1524, by Oecolampadius, of one of his letters containing some anti-Lutheran views. In brief these may be described as follows. His starting point was a revolt against the theory of the magical effect of the sacraments as a means of grace, and an *opus operatum*. This, to him, seemed an absurdity, and he refused to call either of the sacraments means of grace, though he said they were serviceable to Christian living. So little stress, however, did he lay upon them, that he said neither baptism nor communion were necessary, and advised his followers to abstain from the latter during and on account of the battle that raged around the Lord's table. God, said he, could effect salvation without external appliances.[4]

Quite consistently, Schwenckfeld rejected Luther's doctrine of the real presence, which he called "impanation" or "Einbrötung vi verborum." In 1525 Schwenckfeld consulted his more learned friend Krautwald on this point, and was at first opposed by the latter on dialectical grounds. After three days of prayer, however, Krautwald received a divine revelation that Schwenckfeld was right. Thus encouraged, the Silesian proceeded to Wittenberg, where he had an interview with Luther.[5] Shortly afterwards he wrote him, "It is impossible that the pope's kingdom shall be cast down while this article of the flesh and blood in the sacrament of bread and wine stands." [6] Strange

[3] Loetscher, 7 ff.

[4] Loetscher, 9, 12 ff, 30 ff. On Schwenckfeld, *Luther's Correspondence,* ii. p. 367; R. M. Jones: *Spiritual Reformers,* 1914, pp. 64 ff.

[5] *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum,* ii. 240 ff.

[6] Enders, v. 277 f.

to say, he was encouraged by his interview; the only explanation for this that I have found is offered by the editor of the *Corpus Schwenckfeldianorum* in the phrase that "Luther wiped his feet on his own mental reservation." The Wittenberg professor was in doubt as to their relations, writing, as he did not long afterwards, "Either you or we must be the devil's bondsmen, because we both claim the words of God." [7]

Like all those who have rejected the real presence, Schwenckfeld had to find some strained exegesis of the "Hoc est corpus meum." He inverted the order of the words, making "hoc" a "spiritual demonstrative," and construing, "My body is this, *scil.* bread or true nourishment for the soul." But he still clung to a spiritual element in the sacrament, and objected to Zwingli's exegesis of "is" as "signifies" as too rationalistic.[8] His relations with Luther did not improve with years. In 1543 the reformer wrote him referring to his eucharistic doctrine that "formerly he had kindled a fire in Silesia which was not yet quenched and which would burn him eternally." [9]

[7] Loetcsher, 52.

[8] Loetscher, 50. *Corpus Ref.*, xcv. 567 ff. Zwingli to Krautwald and Schwenckfeld, April 17, 1526.

[9] Dec. 6, 1542, Enders, xv. 275 f.

IX. BUCER

Martin Bucer seemed born to belie the saying that peacemakers are blessed. In his life-long effort to reconcile the two main wings of Protestantism he achieved only a slight and temporary success, while he endured many hard rebuffs from each side.

No sooner was the tempest gathering in the writings of Carlstadt, than Bucer began to pour oil on the troubled waters. In a pamphlet published in December, 1524,[1] he deprecated the quarrel over the sacrament as useless and evil, and said that it was much as if a father had given his sons a golden beaker as a memorial of him, and then they did nothing but quarrel over its material and cost. At the same time he showed his inclination to Carlstadt's opinion, though rebutting his interpretation of τοῦτο. For the former he drew down on his head Luther's wrath, in a manner graphically described in his *Commentary on the first three Gospels.*[2]

> In the preface to the fourth volume of Luther's *Postilla,* which I translated into Latin for the use of our brethren in Italy, I said that as all the works of the Lord were true, and as bodily things always appeared what they were, then, did the Lord really and truly turn the bread into his body, it ought thus to appear. Luther took this worse than I should have believed possible, and for this cause published against me an epistle than which you will see nothing

[1] *Grund und Ursach aus göttlicher Schrift der Neuerungen.* Barge, ii. 231.

[2] *Enarationum in Evangelia Matthaei, Marci et Lucae libri duo.* 1527, quoted, *Corpus Ref.,* xcvi. 61, note 12. Luther's letter to Herwagen, Sept. 13, 1526, Enders, v. 384 ff; *Luther's Correspondence,* ii, 377 ff.

more filled with calumny and cursing. . . When I wrote that the corporeal miracles of the Lord always appeared corporeally to us, he, carried away with impotent rage, omitted [in quotation] the word "corporeal," in which was the whole force of my argument. Then he mocked me with great contempt and a bitter laugh. . . If this is not to calumniate — or, shall I say? to rage — I know not what it is.

Another attempt of Bucer to harmonize in a pamphlet of 1528, called *A Comparison of the Opinion of Luther and his Opponents on the Supper of Christ*, was judged by the Wittenberger as poisonous. As he already knew Bucer's worthlessness, he said, he was not surprised that he had dared to twist the meaning of Augustine. "Christ will plague these vipers," he added, "and either convert them or give them what they deserve." He commiserated his correspondent, who lived at Strassburg, for having to dwell among such wild beasts, vipers, lions, and leopards, like Daniel in the den.[3]

At Marburg Bucer played his usual vacillating part. At a conference with Brentz and Osiander he admitted that "Christ's body was in the supper and was given with the bread to believers," but after a conference with the Zwinglians he retracted this.[4] At the same time he drew up a confession as a pendant to the Schwabach articles, in which he professed to abide by the simple words "that is my body." As even Luther, said he, confesses that the bread remains bread, and rejects transubstantiation, he cannot accept Luther's opinion that Christ is with or in the bread.[5]

At Augsburg he exerted himself more streneously

[3] To Gerbel, July 28, 1528. Enders, vi. 312 f, *Luther's Correspondence*, ii. 450 f.

[4] Schubert in *Z. K. G.*, xxx. 62 f.

[5] Schubert: *Bündnis und Bekenntnis*, 179.

to further the union so necessary for the protection of the Protestants. Although he wrote Brück that Luther said the body of Christ was torn by the teeth of communicants, he wrote Luther that, after reading Oecolampadius's *Dialogue,* he has come to believe there was no real difference between its author and the Wittenberg Reformers. Melanchthon, he said, had digested their opinion into articles, which he sent. The substance of his contention was that Christ is present in the supper to the mind but not to the body.[6] As Luther did not answer this appeal, Bucer visited him at Coburg, and pressed him to consent to an agreement. At the interview, on September 18, Luther declared himself content to say that the soul only enjoyed the heavenly food and that the mouth ate only bread, but he declined to entertain proposals for a treaty with the sacramentarians.[7]

Bucer insisted on sending him, nevertheless, a confession in very conciliatory terms, which Luther acknowledged with approval and thanks, on January 22, 1531, though he still declined to admit a full union with the other party.[8] When Bucer wrote insisting that he believed in the real presence,[9] Luther only replied that of him personally he entertained some hopes, but not of the others.[10]

The difficulties were not all on one side. Bucer confided to Ambrose Blaurer, on Feb. 21, 1531, that though he hoped for union, he dared not mention it to Zwingli, who was irritated by the letters of certain

[6] Aug. 25, 1530, Enders, viii. 209.
[7] Baum, 473.
[8] Smith, *Luther,* 288 f.
[9] Enders, viii. 355 ff.
[10] To Frosch, March 28, 1531, Smith, *Luther,* 289.

persons and would not accommodate himself to any union.[11]

Luther's loudly expressed joy over the defeat of Cappel and the death of his rivals did not make projects of union easier. In a letter to Duke Albert of Prussia, written in February or March, 1532, and published immediately, he not only affirmed that Zwingli's catastrophe was a judgment of God, but he warned the duke not to tolerate the sacramentarians in his land, by which both his own soul would be damned and the Christian church suffer a hard blow. "For," he adds, in words that sound strange from an innovator, "we must not trifle with articles of faith so long and unanimously held by Christendom." [12]

It is not remarkable that when the clergymen of Zurich were approached by Bucer, they replied that they were perfectly willing to have Luther agree with them, but that they had not yet been able to observe that he did so. Although they resented his letter to Albert, they said they would not attack him in pulpit or in synod.[13] On February 9 of the next year, however, Leo Jud wrote that they ought to attack Luther as he erred not only on the sacrament but on other articles.[14]

So sensitive was Luther himself to any accusation that he agreed with the Zwinglians that, when his book *On Private Masses* against the papists was thought to show that he did so, he promptly published a letter to deny the impeachment.[15] To the Town

[11] Blaurer, i. 246, cf. 239.
[12] Weimar, xxx, part iii, p. 547; Smith, *Luther*, 291 f.
[13] May 8, 1533. Barge, ii. 595.
[14] Kolde, *Analecta*, 204.
[15] *Ein Brief D. M. Luthers von seinem Buch der Winkelmessen*, 1534. *Weimar*, xxxviii. 257 ff.

Council of Augsburg he wrote expressly to contradict the claim of their clergy to agree with him, and to beg the Council to forbid these ministers so to cheat the people.[16]

Even Bucer confessed that Luther's rage against all who differed with him was intolerable, that he cursed the most pious men and those who had been most useful to the church,[17] and that no rocks were harder, nothing more obstinate than some of his followers.[18]

The suggestion of the possibility of union, even in these discouraging circumstances, perhaps came from the signing of the Concord of Württemberg, Aug. 2, 1534, by the Zwinglian Ambrose Blaurer and the Lutheran Schnepf. This confession taught that the "body and blood of Christ are truly, *i.e.* substantially and essentially, but not quantitatively, qualitatively or locally, present and exhibited in the Supper." [19]

Philip of Hesse was again the moving spirit of harmony. On September 12, 1534, he wrote to Melanchthon that he has heard that the other would willingly see the schism on the sacrament taken away. He spoke of the work of Schnepf in Württemberg.[20] A few days later he proposed a meeting of Melanchthon and Bucer at Cassel.[21] Further negotiations with Luther developed this plan and the meeting actually took place in the last days of December.[22] Luther feared that Melanchthon would prove too yielding, because he knew that his colleague had been much impressed by Oecolampadius' *Dialogue showing what the*

[16] August 8, 1533, Enders, ix. 331, Erlangen, lv. 21.
[17] April 9, 1534, Kolde, *Analecta*, 205.
[18] To Margaret Blaurer, Aug. 9, 1534, *Blaurer*, ii. 809.
[19] Kidd, 305.
[20] Gundlach, 65 ff.
[21] *Ibid.*, 68.
[22] Enders, x. 72, 78.

Fathers thought of the Sacrament, which he had received at Augsburg in 1530. He accordingly examined all the citations from the ancients which had shaken his friend, and wrote an answer to each.[23] Further, he drew up an instruction on the Supper to serve as a basis of negotiation with Bucer. In this he first protests against the assumption that neither side understands the other. The only alternatives are for his opponents to concede that Christ's body is truly present, or for him to admit that only bread is eaten, which would be against his conscience and also useless. It would be better, he says, for things to remain as they are. In strong terms he closes: "The body of Christ is said to be truly held, given, received, and eaten in the bread," [24] and this not only by believers, but by all who partake, whether worthily or not. Luther had little hope of union, and even preferred to differ with people who denied that Judas ate the sacrament as well as the good apostles.[25]

But Bucer was determined to concede everything rather than give excuse for a continuation of the schism. In his reply to Luther's memorial, he acknowledged the real presence, even that the "body was crushed with the teeth and swallowed." But yet there was, he said, no physical union of body and bread; otherwise the holy corpse would go to the belly and be subject to the movements thereof.[26] Bucer's

[23] *Glossae D. M. Lutheri super sententias patrum de controversia coenae exhibitas ipsi a D. P. Melanchthone.* Weimar, xxxviii. 294 ff.

[24] Weimar, xxxviii. 298, Enders, x. 91 ff. The German translation of this memoir adds that the body of Chrict "is bitten by the teeth." This is not in the Latin original, but was added from the *Confession* of 1528, where Luther used the expression.

[25] Forster to Schlaginhaufen, Wittenberg, Dec. 19, 1534, *A. R. G.*, vii. 73.

[26] Dec. 28 or 29, Enders, x. 105.

language in this document and in his negotiations with Melanchthon,[27] is a striking example of the tendency of theology to hair-splitting. For Bucer exhausted the vocabulary at his command to show that in the bread Christ was really present and really not present; that he was eaten by the mouth but not voided by the belly; that the bread and wine were signs of things absent and yet that they were the very things signified.

His sophistry, however, achieved the end he desired, for Luther at last declared himself in general satisfied, though inclined to wait longer for a definite agreement.[28] "I have now arrived at the point," he exclaimed in a burst of generosity, "where, thank God, I can confidently hope that the ministers of Upper Germany heartily and earnestly believe what they say." [29]

In April the busy Bucer went to Augsburg to inform the clergy there that hitherto he had not sufficiently understood the matter of the sacrament, for he had taught nothing of the office of the body and blood. It was then suggested by Neobulus that they should procure a preacher from Wittenberg to instruct them.[30] They accordingly sent two of their number with a letter to Luther, dated June 20, 1535, rehearsing the sad history of the controversy from its inception by Carlstadt, speaking of the joy it had given the pope, and sending a confession of the real presence. The worthy clergymen expressed their hopes of ending the schism and requested that Urban Rhegius be sent to instruct them in the pure doctrine of Wittenberg.[31]

[27] Bindseil: *Colloquia,* ii. 47.
[28] Enders, x. 124.
[29] Smith, *Luther,* 292 f. Jan. 30, 1535.
[30] Baum, 502.
[31] Enders, x. 159 ff.

Luther declared himself willing to treat, and, by this condescension, delighted Bucer.[32] After further negotiation [33] the Wittenberg professor instructed the Strassburg clergy in the niceties of his doctrine. The body and blood, said he, were present to be eaten and drunk, but were not intended to be reserved or carried in processions. Whether the body was present in reserved hosts he declined to decide, saying that the papists, who were given to the practice, must answer for it.[34]

Sensitive as Luther was to the slightest shade of difference from his own opinion, the utter obsequiousness of the South German clergy, who prostrated their private judgment before his infallible decisions, finally convinced him that it would be safe to sign an agreement with them. A conference was therefore arranged at Wittenberg, and took place at the Black Cloister, during the days May 21-29, 1536. The discussion was largely on the question of whether the unworthy received the Lord's body and blood, for this was considered the final test of the real presence. Luther maintained that as the body was truly there, it made no difference who ate it; Judas might partake as well as Peter. The Zwinglian doctrine had been that, as the participation was an act of faith, only believers might enjoy true communion with their Saviour. Bucer, at this conference, made one of those fine distinctions in which he was an adept. Those, said he, with a glance at the Catholics, who perverted the institution of Christ, did not partake of the body and

[32] Bucer to A. Blaurer, Nov. 13, 1525, *Blaurer*, i. 759.
[33] Enders, x. 193, 237.
[34] Enders, x. 272, Nov. 27, 1535.

blood, but those in a lesser degree of unworthiness might receive it.[35]

Agreement having finally been reached, a document known as the Wittenberg Concord was drawn up by Melanchthon and signed, on May 29, by all present save one. The doctrine of the eucharist was expressed as follows: "We confess, in the words of Irenaeus, that the eucharist consists of two things, an earthly and a heavenly. Thus we think and teach that with the bread and wine the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present, exhibited, and received." Transubstantiation is denied, "nor do we think there is a local inclusion in the bread or a durable conjunction outside the sacramental use." So truly is the body present, however, that even the unworthy are said to receive it.[36]

Satisfied with the new confession, Luther made sure, by personal inquiries, that the councils of Augsburg and Strassburg really accepted it.[37] They assured him that they did so, but yet dared not inform the people how far they had gone in the conservative direction. Thus on July 6, 1536, Bucer wrote A. Blaurer that the Concord was meant only to be signed by magistrates and not scattered around among the people.[38]

While Protestant Germany was now united, Switzerland, with the exception of a few men,[39] held aloof. Bucer did his best, though in vain, to reunite them also with his leader. When his letter proposing that Luther

[35] Buceri *Opera anglicana,* p. 654, quoted Enders, 66, note 12. *Cf.* Baum, 506 ff.

[36] Kidd, 318.

[37] Enders, x. 342, xi. 1, 22.

[38] *Blaurer,* i. 806.

[39] Joachim Vadian wrote *Aphorismorum libri sex de consideratione eucharistiae,* 1536, maintaining the Lutheran doctrine.

should write to the Swiss about his agreement, arrived, Luther said (August 25, 1536): "I know not what to write. The Sacramentarians only seek a pretext from my letter, not wishing to confess their errors and only saying that neither side has understood the other. But I will not allow this proposition, for it would make me guilty of not understanding their position. Ah, Lord God, I have understood it only too clearly, otherwise why should I have written against it so hard? . . . I will not load myself with others' sins. . . There can be no true concord because the sacramentarians measure the matter by reason." [40]

On December 26, 1536, he wrote indignantly to the burgomaster and town council of Isny, denying that he had come to Zwingli's dogma of the sacrament. If people say that, he avers, the Concord will turn into a discord. Let them boast what they like, higher knowledge, more of the Spirit or of holiness than either Luther or Paul possess, only let them not boast, the writer warns them, that he has yielded to them. For his own part, his only doubts are whether some who signed the Concord really believe it.[41]

The Swiss held a conference at Basle in January, 1537, to discuss the Wittenberg Concord. On January 12 they wrote Luther that they considered the sacrament a visible picture, a certain proclamation and a holy sign of God's grace and promises, and not merely a sign, for the body of Christ is truly eaten, though not substantially nor in fleshly wise.[42] About the same time Capito and Bucer wrote Luther that the sacrament was not salutary apart from faith and that the

40 Bindseil, *Colloquia,* ii. 45.
41 Enders, xi. 149, Erlangen, lv. 194.
42 Enders, xi. 157 ff.

body of Christ could not be received in men's bellies.[43] This opinion did not arouse the opposition that might have been expected, for the Reformer wrote his fellow workers of Strassburg that he believed they, personally, were sincere, but that they labored in vain with others for "the Satan of Augsburg" was against them.[44]

A few months later his judgment of the Swiss became more favorable again, and, though he told Bucer he liked their Basle Confession less than the Tetrapolitana,[45] he wrote them, December 2, 1537, that he was pleased to find they agreed with the Concord.[46]

In 1538, not unfriendly letters were exchanged between Zwingli's successor, Bullinger, and Luther,[47] but in the following year the old hatred flamed up again. In his work *On Councils and Churches,* Luther accused Zwingli of Nestorianism, because he failed to recognize the doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum,* and thus, according to Luther, made two natures of Christ.[48] The Zurich clergymen wrote at once denying this charge against their late master, but the Wittenberger never answered them.[49]

After this Luther's relations with the sacramentarians became steadily worse. In 1541 he heard that the Bohemian Brethren denied the real presence and he threatened to write publicly against their lies and hypocrisy, but did not find time to do so.[50]

At the Conference of Hagenau in the same year the

[43] Enders, xi. 182 f.
[44] Enders, xi. 247.
[45] Enders, xi. 300.
[46] Enders, xi. 294, Erlangen, lv. 190. Dated here Dec. 1. But the MS (original?) at Corpus Christi College, no. 119. 45, is dated Dec. 2.
[47] Enders, xi, 363.
[48] Weimar, vol. 50, p. 591.
[49] Enders, xii. 241.
[50] Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 577.

Catholic Legate Morone counted on a controversy between Melanchthon and Bucer on the supper to turn things to his own advantage.[51]

Two years later a petty but fierce quarrel arose in the bosom of the Saxon Church on the question of what to do with the bread and wine left over after communion. On June 30 Simon Wolferinus, pastor of Eisleben, drew up ten theses stating that the sacraments were divine actions and that outside of the act of participating "it was madness, rabid fury and monstrous ignorance" to think that the bread and wine were still sacramental. This aroused the wrath of the Wittenbergers. Jonas blamed the rash asserter of private judgment for not referring the question to Wittenberg before he had dared to pronounce on it. "You know," said he, "that I am a disciple of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther. I, who for twenty-two years have conversed familiarly with Luther and Melanchthon, am still wont to refer things great and small, especially difficult matters, to Wittenberg." [52]

Luther himself, in great embarassment to answer the question, retorted that Wolferinus was a "Zwinglian" and "despiser of the sacrament." Melanchthon, said he, had truly written that God was not present in the bread except during the sacramental use, but the question of putting the exact time limit on this real presence was difficult. All he could say was that it was an unprofitable question to discuss, and that a decent time must be assumed to elapse after communion before, as it were, the body of Christ faded away.

[51] Pastor-Kerr, xi. 418.
[52] Kawerau, in *Z. K. G.*, xxxiii, 1912, 268 ff.

He therefore advised eating the remaining elements to avoid scandal.[53]

This, however, was a mere episode compared with the continued battle with the Swiss. In June, 1543, Luther wrote to the Italian Protestants, "The Zurichers especially, and their neighbors, are enemies of the sacrament and use profane bread and wine, from which the body and blood of Christ are excluded; they are learned in all tongues but of a spirit alien to us; drunken, whose contagion is to be shunned." [54]

On the other hand Bullinger of Zurich was unwilling to approach Luther when Frecht proposed it to him. He knew, he said, that Luther would never keep the terms of any treaty. "He has never ceased, publicly and privately, to condemn Zwingli and us. We wrote him privately, as agreed, but he answered nothing, despising and rending us . . . We know that we cannot come into Luther's good graces and concord, unless we deny Zwingli's doctrine and ours about the Lord's supper, images, confession, and absolution. I would rather die than to obscure or deny the true and simple verity." [55]

The differences might, however, have been allowed to remain unexpressed, had not the conciliatory efforts of Bucer and Melanchthon fanned the flames of old animosities to white heat. Those gentlemen, in the summer of 1544, drew up a Plan of Reform for the recently converted city of Cologne, in which document, to avoid altercation, they minimized the differences of the several bodies of Protestants on the doctrine of

[53] Enders, xv. 173 ff, 182.
[54] Enders, xv. 167.
[55] *Vadianische Briefsammlung,* vi. 321, May, 1544.

the eucharist. As soon as he saw it Luther expressed himself as follows: "The Plan of Reform does not please me. It speaks at length about the use, fruit and honor of the sacrament, but mumbles about the substance, so that one cannot gather what it professes. . . . In short, I am sick and disgusted with the book . . . which, besides other objections, is much, much too long, a great tedious yarn, in which I can see the hand of that chatterbox, Bucer." [56] He even planned a book against Melanchthon and Bucer. "God forgive Luther and the Zurichers," wrote Bucer, "for letting so dangerous a fire burn so fiercely." [57]

His refutation of the Plan of Reform, entitled *A Short Confession on the Holy Sacrament,* was published in September.[58] It is one of those ungovernable outbursts of passionate anger characteristic of the Reformer's declining years. He felt the inner need of giving this last terrible expression to his hatred of his fellow-Christians in order to rid himself of the shadow of the Wittenberg Concord. The ranters, said he, make a great palaver about spiritual eating and drinking, but really they are murderers of souls. "As I am about to descend into the grave," he averred, "I will take this testimony and boast before the judgment seat of my Lord, that I have always damned and shunned the ranters and enemies of the sacrament, Carlstadt, Zwingli, Oecolampadius, Stenckfeld [Schwenckfeld], and their disciples." They have, he adds, a bedeviled heart and a lying mouth.

No wonder that this was too much even for Luther's

[56] Smith, *Luther*, p. 403. Enders, xvi, 59.
[57] Anrich, 95 f.
[58] Erlangen, xxxii. 396 ff.

best friends. Melanchthon threatened to leave Wittenberg,[59] and said: "Should I shed as many tears as there are waters in the Danube, my sorrow would not be exhausted; should I make enough erasures to cover the most fertile field in Europe, I could not heal the wound, which had already been cicatrized, but which Luther opened again with this his bitter book." [60]

In spite of this *Confession* there is a legend, persisting even in Principal Lindsay's recent work, that Luther at the time of his death was on the road to union with the Swiss Protestants. The ground for this legend is the fact that, during his last days, he told Melanchthon that, in the new edition of his work "That these words, This is my Body, still stand fast," he wished to omit the passage in which he had said that the devil, through Bucer, had smeared Luther's books with dung. This may have implied a wish to spare Bucer, but not the others. His last sermons at Wittenberg and Eisleben denounce the sacramentarians,[61] and in a letter, written a month before his death, he says: [62] "I greatly rejoice at what you tell me about the Swiss writing against me so vehemently, condemning me as an unhappy man of unhappy genius. This is what I sought, this is what I wished my book, so offensive to them, to do, namely to make them publicly testify that they are my enemies; now I have attained this and, as I have said, rejoice at it. The blessing of the Psalm is sufficient for me, the most unhappy of all men: 'Blessed is the man who walketh not in the

[59] A. Blaurer to Vadian, Sept. 24, 1544, *Vadianische Briefsammlung*, vi. 348.
[60] *Ibid.*, 352.
[61] Grisar, ii. 793 f. Haussleiter: *Die Geschichtliche Grunde*, &c.
[62] Smith, *Luther*, 405; Enders, xiii, 11.

counsel of the sacramentarians, nor standeth in the way of the Zwinglians, nor sitteth in the seat of the men of Zurich.' " [63]

And Bucer, after all his gyrations, remained of his first opinion still. "What kind of a real presence," he wrote Blaurer, "can the Lutherans imagine, when they neither give it a place, nor include Christ in the bread nor transmute the bread into Christ?" Twenty years of argument and concession had not solved that for him, but had only won him the dislike of the Zurich pastors, who now, as he says in the same letter, are unbecomingly attacking him with libels and lies.[64]

[63] Cf. Psalm i, 1.
[64] Feb. 25, 1545, *Blaurer*, ii. 349.

X. MELANCHTHON

'The ore dug by the miner's son was forged by the son of the smith into useful articles of shining metal.' Such is the tropical way of saying that Melanchthon took Luther's ideas and put them into more consistent form. Until 1531 his theory followed the same evolution as Luther's; after that date he became, timidly and secretly, more inclined to the Zwinglian view.

In his *Loci Communes,* published early in 1521,[1] he emphasizes the early Lutheran doctrine of the importance of faith. Neither baptism nor participation in the Lord's Supper are anything, he says, in themselves, but are merely witnesses and seals of the divine will and benevolence. The error of holding the mass a sacrifice and a good work is attributed to Aquinas and is refuted. The real presence is assumed.

While Luther was absent at the Wartburg, Melanchthon entered with spirit into the reforms of Zwilling and Carlstadt, being the first layman to take communion in both kinds. When he did not have Luther to lean upon, he took the fanatic Stübner, "clung to his side, listened to him, wondered at him and venerated him." [2] At this time, January or early in February, 1522, he drew up a memorial on the Supper.[3]

[1] On the date, *Supplementa Melanchthoniana,* i, p. xvi. The *Loci* in Spalatin's translation printed here pp. 186 ff; extracts from it in Kidd, 92 f.

[2] Ulscenius to Capito, Jan. 1, 1522, *A. R. G.,* vi. 390; *Luther's Correspondence,* ii. 83.

[3] *A. R. G.,* vi. 438.

As, says he, the New Testament is nothing save righteousness of spirit, all that is repugnant to that righteousness must be abolished. Other things are free. The opinion that the mass is a sacrifice is repugnant to that righteousness, but ceremonies are not repugnant to it and may therefore be tolerated. It is a law to commune under both kinds, but a law that can be dispensed with in case of necessity or of scandal.

After Luther's return, Melanchthon at once acquiesced in the repudiation of all the reforms he had helped to introduce. Like Luther, he saw in the Peasants' Revolt a divine punishment of land and people for the abuse of the mass, "as St. Paul says that many of the Corinthians were punished for the abuse of the mass."[4] (I Cor. xi. 30).

When Carlstadt started the controversy over the real presence Melanchthon wrote that he would be neither the author of nor an actor in that play. He thought that no one would start such questions save those who had nothing to do at home with weightier matters of the law. As he believed that all the ancients taught that Christ is truly present he would not innovate in such a matter without a certain revelation.[5] But he soon found himself much perplexed and had to turn continually to Luther for assurance.[6] To Blaurer he wrote that he was more tortured over the question than he had ever been over anything. He does not see how the Zwinglian faction can persuade others, as it has not even persuaded itself. He thinks it perilous to conscience to prepound new dogmas.[7]

[4] *Corpus Ref.*, xx. 641 ff.
[5] Melanchthon to T. Blaurer, Jan. 23, 1525, *Blaurer*, i. 118 f.
[6] *Corpus Ref.*, i. 913; iv. 964.
[7] June 20, 1529, *Blaurer*, i. 191.

To another friend he said, "Not without the greatest struggle have I come to hold that the Lord's body is truly present in the Supper." [8] Later he said that not a day or a night had passed for many years in which he had not thought on the subject.[9] But as Luther's doctrine was the old one, a good man would not rashly depart from the ancients.[10]

His hostility to Zwingli at Marburg and at Augsburg, surpassing, if possible, that of Luther, has already been narrated. In April, 1529, he wrote Oecolampadius, "I am not willing to be the author of a new dogma in the church." [11] He preferred to treat the mode of the presence as a mystery "without subtlety," and again averred that he would rather die than affirm with the Swiss that Christ's body could be present only in one place.[12]

At the same moment, however, when he was calling God to witness that he would rather unite with the Catholics than with the Zwinglians,[13] his opinion on the point in controversy with them was shaken by Oecolampadius's *Dialogue on what the Ancients thought of the Supper*. From this time on, slowly and secretly, but unmistakably, he began to forsake the doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's body and the dogma that unbelievers participate in it when they receive the bread and wine, and, finally, the Lutheran doctrine of the real presence in any form. The Augsburg Confession in its lost, original form, was very nearly Catholic.

[8] *Corpus Ref.*, i. 1106.
[9] *Ibid.*, iii. 537.
[10] *Ibid.*, i. 823, 830.
[11] *Corpus Ref.*, i. 1048.
[12] *Ibid.*, ii. 25; Schirrmacher, 349.
[13] Schirrmacher, 247.

In the form published in 1531, it stated that Christ's body and blood were truly present and anathematized those who taught otherwise. In the edition of 1540 the former clause was changed to saying that the body and blood were really given to the communicant with the bread and wine and the anathema was struck out.[14]

The last years of Melanchthon's life were disastrous both to his own peace of mind and to the unity of the Lutheran church. The Augsburg Interim of May 15, 1548, decreed that the canon of the mass should be retained in its natural meaning, and that all its ceremonies should be retained.[15]

Notwithstanding this external pressure the Protestants were unable to keep the peace among themselves. Lutheran attacked Calvanist, and "Gnesio-Lutheran" "Philippist." In 1552 Joachim Westphal of Hamburg took up the cudgels for the old, simon-pure dogma of the real presence against Calvin, Peter Martyr, and Melanchthon. Christ, said he, was eaten "corporaliter, dentaliter, gutturaliter et stomachaliter." He asked what would happen to a mouse if it ate the Lord's body, and directed that the crumbs dropped should be picked up with care. To such lengths was the superstition carried that the fingers of a minister who had accidentally spilled the consecrated wine were cut off by order of the Lutheran prince.[16] Melanchthon was against such "remnants of the papacy" which he named "artolatry" or "bread-worship." But, though urged on by Calvin, he declined to express his true opinion on the real presence. It was, however, a few years later, correctly reported to the Council

[14] *R. G. G.*, i. 76.
[15] Kidd, 359 f.
[16] Richard, *Melanchthon*, 363 f, 391; *R. G. G.*, i. 77.

of Trent by the Emperor's nuncio, Delfino, who wrote that Melanchthon subscribed to the opinion of Calvin on the eucharist, and that his followers regarded the matter as an adiaphoron, or thing indifferent.[17] The Emperor wished to support the Augsburg Confession on this point against the sacramentarians. But in the meantime Calvin's threat to write on this subject against Melanchthon,[18] was postponed by the colloquy held at Worms in 1557. The theologians here tried to compromise in a manner that suited nobody. With Melanchthon's consent they condemned the Zwinglians,[19] while at the same time altering the Augsburg Confession again to make it possible for Calvinists to sign it.[20] Notwithstanding his own vacillation in this matter Melanchthon became more and more intolerant of divergencies in others' belief. In 1557 he reckoned the opinion that the bread and wine were mere signs as blasphemy which ought to be punished by death.[21]

Those who departed from the straight and narrow path of Lutheran orthodoxy, not daring to avow their opinions, because known as "Cryptocalvinists." In 1558 Jonas estimated that hardly one out of a thousand preachers understood the dogma rightly.[22] Among the Cryptocalvinists Melanchthon's son-in-law was imprisoned for heresy by the Lutherans.[23] Melanchthon's own life was made miserable and his death

[17] Aug. 10, 1562. *Calendar of State Papers at Rome,* 1916, no. 184.

[18] *Corpus Reformatorum,* xlii. 342, Dec. 21, 1556.

[19] Doumergue, II. 558. Further on Melanchthon and Calvin, Kawerau, *Agricola,* 1881, p. 348.

[20] Janssen,[16] iv. 25.

[21] N. Paulus, *Luther und die Gewissensfreiheit,* p. 47 ff, quoting a work of Melanchthon not in the *Corpus Reformatorum.*

[22] Janssen,[16] iv. 25.

[23] P. Wappler: *Stellung des Kursachsens,* p. 121.

perhaps hastened by chagrin at the ferocious attacks made upon him.

As nothing had been settled at Worms, further conferences, equally inconclusive, followed. In 1564 the Brandenburg theologians held a debate at Maulbron.[24] A strong Lutheran doctrine prevailed but the question of the mode of the real presence agitated the learned assembly. The doctrine of ubiquity was slurred over in the interests of peace, only to make way for a lively altercation on the *communicatio idiomatum*. Karg argued against it by saying: "If an ass were entirely and absolutely like a man he would be a man and no ass and would not have any of the ass's nature left." His auditors do not seem to have resented this simile as a personal reflection upon themselves, but went on to thresh out the old and interesting problem as to what happened to the Saviour's body after it had passed into the eater's belly. They decided that the bodily part went into the "kitchen" of the human digestion, but that "what was spiritually eaten by the mouth went by faith into the soul's kitchen, where there was a very different rule from that prevailing in the mortal body's belly and guts." The Calvinists, nevertheless, revived the epithet "Stercoronistae" to apply to Lutherans.

The final collapse of Melanchthon's, as opposed to Luther's ideas, came with the signing by 8,200 clergy, in 1577-80, of the Formula of Concord. In this all the least rational and least spiritual fancies of Luther were fixed.[25] And yet a desperate effort was made to reconcile opposites. The body and blood are said to be substantially present, and "are eaten

[24] E. Schornbaum in *Z. K. G.*, xxxiv. 378 ff, 491 ff.

not only spiritually but by the mouth, nevertheless not Capernaitically, but after a spiritual and heavenly manner." [26] The *manducatio infidelium*, the ubiquity theory and the *communicatio idiomatum* those "christological monstrosities" as Loofs calls them, are retained. The "high" doctrine is reasserted in the Saxon Visitation articles of 1592.[27] The Philippists found no more place in the Lutheran church, but became Calvinists.[28]

[25] *R. G. G.*, v, 915.
[26] Schaff: *Creeds*, iii. 137.
[27] *Ibid.*, 186.
[28] Möller-Kawerau, iii. 292; *R. G. G.*, i. 77.

XI. CALVIN

Calvin is the Aquinas of Protestantism; the philosopher and apologist of a certain system. He lived before the age when it could have dawned on him how very human and ephemeral that system was. Like many other philosophers he saw in the mere conventions of his age, in the ideas most dependent upon the exact conditions at which civilization had arrived, eternal truth. Like Aquinas and most religious thinkers, he had a bias for authority stronger than any other principle. For I doubt if there is in his voluminous writings one original idea. And I do not mean original in any very rigid sense, for, to the searcher for "sources" it seems almost literally true that there is nothing new under the sun, but I mean that one cannot find in him any idea unsupported by ample authority.[1]

As in all other matters, so in this of the Supper, it was authority, not reason, from which he started. Empiricism would have been repugnant to him; innovation blasphemous. He must get at the meaning of the Bible as interpreted by the Fathers and as both Bible and Fathers were interpreted by the Reformers.

For a long time it was customary to say that his doctrine was near that of Zwingli. Of late it has been thought nearer to that of Luther's. It is ordinarily

[1] On Calvin in general: Smith: *The Age of Reformation,* 160 ff; on his doctrine of the eucharist, pp. 165 f.

said that it is between the two. This last assertion, common as it is, reminds me of a story of a college president who, when asked if he believed in God, replied, "In that matter, as in others, truth lies between the two extreme opinions." In an alternative of that nature there is no middle point. One must either affirm with Luther that Christ's body is present in the bread, or deny it, with Zwingli. The fact that Calvin himself claimed to take this intermediate position does not alter matters. In this, as in his whole doctrine, he was the heir of Bucer. He could and did reject this and that corollary or argument of Wittenberg or of Zurich; he could and did adopt the language now of one now of the other, but on the main point at issue, all that he could do was to affirm contradictions: that the body was present in a sense and absent in a sense; that the elements both represented (the absent) body and exhibited (the present) body. Like Bucer he hoped that by making distinctions sufficiently nice and by affirming with sufficient ambiguity each of the mutually exclusive alternatives, he could really reconcile the two factions and produce a doctrine acceptable to both.[2] All he could do, as a distinguished historian has said,[3] was to disguise the division of opinion, and produce a nominal unanimity by an ambiguous and incoherent jargon.

For he felt keenly the desirability of harmony between the two Protestant churches. He called the strife over the supper shameful and calculated to bring it into contempt.[4] He recounted the history of the

[2] *R. G. G.*, i. 75.

[3] Henry Hallam: *Literature of Europe in the XV, XVI and XVII Centuries* 1863, p. 354.

[4] *Compendium doctrinae de coena Domini, Corpus Ref.* xxxvii. 681.

altercation until his day.[5] Luther, said he, left the doctrine of the corporeal presence as he found it, and, though he condemned transubstantiation, continued to assert that the body of Christ was in a sense identical with the bread. His similes to explain this were, Calvin thought, a little hard and rough. Then came Zwingli and Oecolampadius and, moved by the abuses the devil had introduced into the mass and by the idolatry of the host, denied too much, forgetting to show that Christ was really present, and making the elements bare signs. Of the two opinions, he condemned the latter the more severely, as wrong and pernicious, and he even blamed Bucer for sparing it.[6] Elsewhere he called the doctrine profane and spoke of Zwingli's brave death at Cappel as a judgment of God.[7]

His starting point, then, was Luther. In this he was moved partly by his own feeling, akin to that of the Saxon, of the need of some strong assurance of salvation, partly by his respect for the authority of the first Reformer and partly by desire to win his approval. In this last he was partially successful. In 1539 Luther read the younger man's *Response to Sadoletus* "with singular pleasure" and sent him his greeting.[8] It is commonly assumed that Luther was pleased by what Calvin had to say about the Supper, namely that the bread was a true communication of the body of Christ but did not include it locally. Melanchthon also said that his master liked Calvin and,

[5] *Petite Traicté de la Cène,* 1541, Kidd, 630 ff; *Œuvres choisies,* 97.
[6] To Zebedee, May 19, 1539, Gilchrist, iv. 400 ff. Herminjard, v. 318.
[7] *R. G. G.,* v. 2257.
[8] Enders, xii. 260.

when some persons had tried to excite him against the Genevan on the ground of his denial of the "local presence," had replied: "I hope that sometime he will think better of us, but it is right that we should bear something from this able spirit." [9] A little later, however, he expressed a very dubious opinion of the Swiss divine. Speaking of Watt's book against Schwenckfeld, he said: "These books written to refute others need refutation themselves. Thus Calvin hides his opinion on the sacrament. They are mad and cannot speak out though the truth is simple. Don't read their books to me." [10] And when Calvin wrote him, in January, 1545, he never received the letter because Melanchthon, to whom it was first sent, refused to give it to his friend, fearing that it would make trouble.[12]

Like the other Reformers Calvin rejected the mass as a sacrifice[13] and as a good work. He admitted that the ancient fathers called it a sacrifice, but that was only *un façon de parler.*

In 1536 he expressed his doctrine of the real presence as follows: "In the communion of his body and blood Christ witnesses and seals the fact that he transfuses into us his life not otherwise than if he penetrated into our bones and marrow." When we receive the symbol of the body and blood we must be sure that the body and blood also are truly given to us.[14] To support his theory that the body is really present he

[9] Köstlin-Kawerau, ii. 577.
[10] Smith, *Luther,* 402. Autumn, 1540.
[11] *Corpus Ref.* xl. 6. In general, Doumergue, ii. 562 ff. Enders xvi, 178 ff.
[12] So Melanchthon wrote Calvin April 17, 1545; *Corpus Ref.,* xl, 61.
[13] *Corpus Ref.,* xxxiii. 448.
[14] *Instutio,* 1536, cap. xvii, Kidd, p. 534.

quotes Tertullian's refutation of Marcion's heresy that Christ was only a phantasm; this could not have been so, argued Tertullian, because the bread which is the figure of his body, is real.[15]

Calvin's dogma never really developed, but his language bloomed. When, in the course of five years, he again spoke at length on the Supper, it was to expand his original statements in a vast cloud of words in which it is more difficult to detect their meaning and therefore their self-contradictions. In a different sense from that meant by Talleyrand, his language was made to conceal thought. Not that he intended to deceive in the least, but he was obliged to cover up and deck out with his famous style the inconsistencies of his system. So, after wading through expanses and depths of words in the *Institute* of 1541[16] or in the *Treatise on the Supper*[17] of the same year, all that we arrive at are such equivocal statements as the following: "In the Supper we recognize that Jesus Christ is so incorporated in us and we in him that all his is ours and all ours is his." The body of Christ is the food of our spiritual life. It is eaten only by faith and yet it is a desperate folly not to recognize in the bread and wine a communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ. The body of Christ does not descend to us, but the Supper is a "canal or conduit" by which all that is Christ's descends to us. The Word is our bread, and so is the Supper. In a letter to Viret he says: "In the Supper is not only figured but actually exhibited that communion which

[15] Disputation at Lausanne, October, 1536, *ibid.*, 551.
[16] Ed. Lefranc, pp. 625 ff.
[17] *Œuvres choisies*, 63 ff.

we have with Christ," and, "We are thus united, each individually, with Christ, in one body and one substance." [18] Through all this maze of rhetoric and contradiction one thing at least is clear, that Calvin is still putting the question of the relation of the heavenly to the earthly element in the eucharist. Nothing is more medieval than this.[19] In a sense it is even true, as Dr. McGiffert says, that Calvin was, in this respect, more Catholic than Luther.[20] No question is really answered as long as it can be sincerely asked. The difference between Aquinas and Calvin on the one side and rationalists and many modern Protestants, on the other, is not that they give different answers to the question of the real presence, but that to the latter the question itself seems absurd.

Calvin, though unable, as was inevitable under the circumstances, to advance any theory of the mode of union of the heavenly element with the earthly, was quite able to criticize all previous attempts to elucidate this problem. Thus he rejected with justified surety transubstantiation and Luther's ubiquity theory. No property can be assigned to Christ's body, he sagely observes, that is inconsistent with the nature of true humanity.[21] To be truly present, says he, it is not necessary that Christ should be included in the bread, which would give him two bodies.[22] He also avoided many of the absurdities of the Lutherans by confining the enjoyment of the body to the predestinate.

[18] Aug. 23, 1542, Gilchrist, i. 345 f.
[19] *R. G. G.*, i. 75.
[20] *Protestant Thought before Kant*, 93.
[21] Walker, 423. *R. G. G.*, i. 75.
[22] *Ultima Admonitio ad Westphalum*, 1557, *Corpus Ref.*, xxxvii. 183.

This dispensed with the necessity of asking that difficult and burning question as to what would happen to a mouse who ate his God. In all this, is evident not the greater consistency and rationality of Calvin's theory, but the greater cleverness of his prestidigitation. The body is needed as a pledge of salvation. Very well, it is there; if you are elect, eat it. But suppose a mouse or a sinner gobbles up the body? Impossible; it is not there. Presto, it is gone, only to return in a flash the moment Calvin's own jaws close on the wafer.

On the effect and need of the sacrament Calvin was much clearer, and for the reason that, like Luther, he really felt the imminence of judgment and the longing to be saved. "None," says he, "can escape from eternal death. If we are not asleep or stupid this horrible thought must be a perpetual gehenna to vex and torment us." [23] But we are freed from it by God's grace, and the bread is the vehicle of this grace. If he asks *how,* he again falls into the old perplexity. The benefit is not wrought by the sacrament itself, but infallibly accompanies it when received by the predestinate.[24] In other words: I never play baseball for money; I merely accept a present from the management on the days I happen to play.

Calvin's path had been broken for him by Farel, a more sensible and down-right person. "Why," wrote Farel to Bugenhagen in October, 1525, "Why should we fight for a bit of bread which the Father gave us when he gave us his Son?" If we are saved by faith only, he adds, bread, a mere external thing, is not nec-

[23] *Traicté de la Sainte Cène.*
[24] Walker, 442.

essary to redemption.[25] At the Bern Disputation of 1528 the Fourth Thesis[26] said, "It cannot be proved from Scripture that the body and blood of Christ are substantially and corporeally received in the eucharist." The Fifth Thesis declares that the mass as an offering for sins of the dead and living is contrary to Scripture, blasphemous and an abominable abuse.[27]

It was Farel, the first evangelist of French Switzerland, who secured the abolition of the mass at Aigle, Ollon and Bex in 1528.[28] In 1530 he tore the host from the priest's hands at Valangin, and said to the people, "This is not the God whom you must worship; he is above in heaven, in the majesty of the Father." [29]

Not many years after this the Reformation began to make headway in France. On the night of October 17-18, 1534, Antony de Marcourt posted throughout Paris a number of placards attacking the mass. He proclaimed that Christ's sacrifice could not be repeated and that the wretched mass had plunged the world into idolatry. The papists, said he, were not afraid to say that rats, spiders and vermin partook of the Lord's body if they ate a bit of the bread, as is written in their missals in the twenty-second rubric. Though he admitted the real presence he denied transubstantiation.[30]

At Geneva mass was abolished on August 10, 1535, though not without fears that the people would mut-

[25] Vogt, 50.
[26] Lindsay, ii. 52.
[27] Kidd, 460.
[28] Kidd, 482, 502.
[29] Kidd, 483.
[30] Kidd, 529 ff, Smith: *The Age of the Reformation,* 197.

iny.[31] On December 24, 1536, Bern issued an edict for the reformation of the Pays de Vaud, alienating the money settled on foundations for masses and vigils.[32]

A few weeks later (January 13, 1537) the ministers of Geneva, including Calvin, presented to the Town Council a memorandum on the correct doctrine of the Supper, which is called a true participation in the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and in his death, life, spirit, and all his goods. The ordinance of the supper is stated to be the breaking of bread and the mass to be an abomination. Bread and wine are called "figures and sacraments of the body and blood of our Lord."[33]

The new ecclesiastical constitution of Geneva, 1541-2, denounced the mass and provided for communion once a month. Before partaking it children must make a profession of faith.[34] Those who did not renounce the mass were punished.[35] The liturgy of 1542 said that men saw only bread and wine in the elements, but that through them God fulfils and perfects all which is shown forth outwardly in these visible signs, for he is the celestial bread which nourishes to eternal life.[36] The Geneva catechism of 1542 certifies the real presence and declares that Christ is eaten internally with the mind.[37]

Efforts to unite the whole of Protestant Switzerland were successful in the Consensus Tigurinus, drafted by Calvin and Bullinger in 1549. Chapter 22 of this document states that the words "This is my body" are to be taken only figuratively, not literally. This con-

[31] Kidd, 515.
[32] *Ibid.*, 537.
[33] *Ibid.*, 561 ff.
[34] Kidd, 597.
[35] Kidd, 632.
[36] Kidd, 625 ff.
[37] Kidd, 611 ff.

cession to Zwinglianism was offset by emphasis placed upon the gift of salvation in the eucharist. Besides Zurich and Geneva, the Consensus was accepted by Basle, Bern and a number of other cantons.[38]

All approaches of the Lutherans were rebuffed. In June, 1550, Calvin was so exasperated that he called the Lutherans "ministers of Satan" and "professed enemies of God," seeking to bring in adulterine rights and vitiate the pure worship of God.[39] Bullinger also wrote Calvin that the "Lutherans were an obstinate and pernicious race of men, without judgment or humanity, persecuting us more violently than the papists themselves." [40] Blaurer informed Bullinger that the Saxons said they would rather fight with the Calvinists than with the Turks.[41] In the matter of the sacrament said Schenck, the error of the papists is rather to be borne than that of the Saxons.[42] It was a moot question whether a Calvanist could receive the sacrament at all from a Lutheran.[43]

The battle went merrily on for many years after Calvin's death. In a disputation between the two parties in 1596, J. Parsimonius wrote that the body of Christ was present in all places and in all creatures, not only in the elements of communion but in every stock and stone, "in air, fire and water, in apples, pears, cheese and beer." The Calvinists replied: "The Lutheran cyclopean god-gobbling (Herrgottsfresserei) is from the devil no less than the filth of papal hosts and all devil's dung." The Rostock professor J. Af-

[38] Kidd, 656; Lindsay, ii. 60; *R. G. G.*, i. 77.
[39] To Paceus, *Corpus Ref.*, xli. 591.
[40] In 1554, *Corpus Ref.*, xliii. 138.
[41] Blaurer, iii. 369, July 10, 1556.
[42] *Ibid.*, 400, August 30, 1557.
[43] Blaurer to Calvin, *Corpus Ref.*, xlvi. 539.

felmann wrote: "Sturm has compared the words of the Supper in their literal meaning to a snailshell and a snail's dirt and slimy dung and has written of us that we do not eat the body and blood of our Lord but that we crush snailshells with our teeth and swallow snail's dung." [44]

When the Calvinists came to power in Hesse in 1600 they abolished the wafers used in communion because the people believed them the body of Christ and substituted for them heavy, hard round crackers, baked from the coarsest flour, to convince the people that they had "bread, bread, and nothing but bread." "The cursed wafers," said they, "are a birth of the Roman Antichrist," and one of them derived the word host from the Latin *os porci,* pig's mouth.[45]

What was the result of this long, long battle of words, of all these discussions and arguments, of all this hatred and bigotry centering around the Lord's table? The answer must be that it did not, directly, advance the cause of truth one whit. Sturm and Lazarus in 1600 were no nearer squaring the circle than were Luther and Carlstadt in 1524. The more rational spirits, Carlstadt, Zwingli, and Oecolampadius, had been crushed and were anathematized by Lutherans and Calvanists alike. As in the Roman Church, so in the Protestant, purely internal forces consistently made for reaction, ecclesiasticism, intolerance, and superstition. Protestantism became, as Dr. McGiffert [46] has repeated after Harnack, "as blighting to intellectual growth as Roman Catholicism at its worst."

[44] Janssen,[16] vi 516 ff.
[45] *Ibid.,* 533 f, 546.
[46] *Martin Luther,* 1911, p. 382.

The internecine wars of the Protestants weakened them as the Thirty Years war weakened Germany. The benefit accrued partly to Catholicism, partly to skepticism. The former foe was the only one they envisaged. Thus as early as 1530, Queen Margaret of Navarre wrote to the Strassburg clergy that the schism caused great scandal in France.[47] Twelve years later the Protestants of Italy wrote Luther: "There is a second thing which threatens the daily destruction of our churches. It is that question about the Lord's Supper, which first arose in Germany and was thence carried to us. Alas, how many commotions it has excited! How many dissentions it has caused! How much offense it has given to the weak! What damage it has done to the Church of God! What an impediment is it to the spreading abroad of Christ's glory." [48]

[47] Baum, 472. *Cf.* Bucer to Luther, Aug. 25, 1530, Enders, viii. 209.
[48] Nov. 26, 1542, Enders, xv. 25 ff.

XII. THE BRITISH REFORMERS

England, though she has to her credit perhaps even more than her share of scientific discoveries and inventions, has usually been content to take her theology and philosophy from the European continent. At no time was this more true than at the Reformation. Not the slightest originality was shown in the formulation of any dogma or reform. In the article of the eucharist, the Lutheran, Zwinglian and Calvinistic views were all represented in England; and their evolution in all respects paralleled that of German and Swiss doctrines.

Luther's own views were represented with great accuracy by the Englishmen who visited him at Wittenberg and then returned to their own country. One of these was Robert Barnes, who, prior to 1531, drew up a series of *Principle Articles of the Christian Faith.*[1] The Seventeenth Article, on the Sacrament of the Altar, reproduces the Lutheran doctrine exactly, supporting it by quotation from the Bible, from the Fathers and even from Erasmus. The author, an Oxford doctor of divinity, shows considerable learning, but no originality, for he sticks close to his models, the Articles of Schwabach and Marburg.

In the latter part of 1535 Henry VIII sent an em-

[1] *Fürnemlich Artikel der Christlichen kirchen . . . Erstlich in Latein durch D. Antonium aus Engllandt zusammen gebracht, newlich mit einer vorred Joan. Pomerani verdeutscht,* 1531. On Barnes see P. Smith: "Englishmen at Wittenberg in the 16th Century," *English Historical Review,* July, 1921.

bassy to Wittenberg, consisting of Edward Fox, Bishop of Hereford, and Nicholas Heath, Archdeacon of Stafford. Their instructions were to treat with the Schmalkaldic princes about political union and with the Wittenberg theologians about its then indispensable basis, confessional agreement.[2] Especially they were to get from the Reformers a favorable opinion of the king's divorce, and were to request Melanchthon, to whom they brought a large present, to come to England.[3] In both these particulars they were unsuccessful; but they took back with them a series of Articles, drawn up by Melanchthon from previous confessions.[4] Of these articles the sixth declares for the real presence, the eighth defines "sacrament" as a means of grace by which God works invisibly in us; the twelfth and thirteenth are on the order of "mass" and on giving the cup to the laity.

In order to impress the English visitors with the reformed doctrine of private masses, a special debate on the subject was held at Wittenberg, on January 29, 1536, for their benefit. At it Luther answered all their questions, to their complete satisfaction. He conceded that the public mass might be called a sacrifice, but objected strenuously to the private mass.[5]

Returning to England Fox immediately put the Articles in good use. They formed the basis of the

[2] On this embassy in general, *English Historical Review*, 1910, 688 ff. Merriman: *Life and Letters of T. Cromwell*, i. 372.

[3] Merriman, i. 419. The present to Melanchthon of 500 gulden, brought by Fox and Alesius, mentioned in a letter from A. Musa to Roth, Dec. 11, 1535, printed in G. Buchwald: *Zur Wittenberger Stadt und Universitätsgeschichte*, 1893, p. 113.

[4] G. Mentz: *Die Wittenberger Artikel von* 1536. *Leipzig*, 1905. The judgment on the divorce, *Corpus Ref.*, ii. 527, wrongly placed in 1531.

[5] P. Drews, 69 ff, *English Historical Review*, 1921, p. 425 f.

Institution of a Christian Man, 1537, and of the *Book of Articles of Faith and Ceremonies* handed in by him to Convocation on July 11.[6]

When the Saxon and Hessian ambassadors, Boyneburg and Myconius, went to England in May, 1538, they took the Wittenberg Articles with them and held a conference on them with three English bishops and four doctors, the result of which was a confession of *Thirteen Articles,* which agree often, though not always, with their source, word for word.[7] On the other hand a "minority report" as it would be called today, was drawn up by Cuthbert Tunstall, and handed to Henry VIII, who revised it.[8]

So important was it considered at this moment to have Luther's authority that a set of spurious articles attributed to him were circulated in England; he later issued a formal repudiation of them.[9]

During these early years of the English Reformation the Zwinglian view was set forth, though without calling it by that name, by William Tyndale. His *Brief Declaration of the Sacraments,*[10] of 1536, expressly affirms that the "sacraments are bodies of stories only; and there is none other virtue in them than to testify and exhibit to the senses and understanding the covenants or promises made in Christ's blood." Faith in the only method by which they can

[6] Wilkins: *Concilia Magnae Brittanniae,* iii. 803; Smith: *The Age of the Reformation,* p. 301.

[7] Reprinted by Jenkins: *Remains of T. Cranmer,* quoted by Mentz.

[8] *Henrici VIII . . . contra Germanorum opiniones de utraque specie, de missa privata et de conjugio sacerdotum.* MS of Corpus Christi College, Combridge, England, no. 109. 1. The same printed from another MS in Burnet-Pocock: *The Reformation,* iv. 373.

[9] Weimar, xxxviii. 386.

[10] *Treatises,* publisher by Parker Society, 345 ff. *A Brief declaration of the sacraments, expressing the fyrst originall how they came up . . . Compyled by the godly learned man Wyllyam Tyndall.*

be utilized. Of the three opinions held concerning them, the first, transubstantiation and the second, (Lutheran) that the bread is not changed but that the "body is there presently" are rejected. The truth is said to be that the words "this is my body broken for you" oblige us to believe only that Christ's body was broken for us and not that the bread was his body.

Both Lutheran and Zwinglian heresies were crushed by the Act of the Six Articles,[11] in 1539, which made denial of transubstantiation punishable by death, and declared for communion in one kind, for sacerdotal celibacy, for private masses and for auricular confession. The Catholic view of the sacrament was defended by R. Smythe.[12]

When the Reformation again advanced, under the Reign of Edward VI, it assumed a distinctly Bucerian and Calvinistic turn. Bucer was at Oxford, busy drawing up formulas and liturgies. Coverdale translated Calvin's *Treatise on the Sacrament* (1546).[13] Other works of Calvin and of Bullinger began to appear on the subject.[14] In fact the English church became Calvinistic in doctrine.

The general adoption of this variety of opinion was accompanied by a vigorous repudiation of Luther's theories. Thus, on June 19, 1548, John Hooper wrote from Zurich to Bucer:

I entreat you, my master, not to say or write anything against charity or godliness for the sake of Luther, or to burden the con-

[11] 31 Henry VIII, cap. xli.

[12] *The Assertion and Defense of the sacraments of the aulter. Compyled and made by mayster Richard Smythe.* 1546. He was an Oxford don.

[13] M. Coverdale's *Works*, ed. Parker Soc.

[14] *Two Epystles, one of Henry Bullynger . . . an other of John Caluyne . . . whether it be lawfull for a chrysten man to communicate or be a partaker of the masse of the papysts, without offending God and hys neyghbour or not.* London. 1548.

sciences of men with his words on the holy supper. Although I readily acknowledge with thankfulness the gifts of God in him who is now no more, yet he was not without his faults . . . After the dispute with Zwingli and Oecolampadius respecting the Supper had begun to grow warm he did violence to many passages of Scripture . . . that he might establish the corporeal presence of Christ in the bread . . . Everyone is aware, too, with what calumny and reproaches he attacked even the dead.[15]

The Protestant Bishop Horn in 1576 called Lutheranism a great disturber of Christianity;[16] William Turner, Dean of Wells, classed Lutherans with wolves, papists, Sadducees and Herodians, and Archbishop Grindal called them "semi-papists." It has been conjectured that in the *Fairy Queen* Spenser pilloried Lutheranism as the "false image" of Una, the English church.[17] In 1597 Hooker said: "So they do all plead God's omnipotency . . . the patrons of transubstantiation . . . and the followers of consubstantiation, or kneading up of both substances as it were into one lump." [18] When Captain Henry Bell translated Luther's Table Talk (1652), he persuaded the committee of the House of Commons appointed to examine it that it was "an excellent divine work, worthy of light and publishing, especially in regard that Luther, in the said discourses, did revoke his opinion, which he formerly held, touching Consubstantiation in the Sacrament." [19] There is, of course, nothing to this purpose in the German *Tischreden;* whether Bell forged a passage or merely informed the committee,

[15] *Original Letters,* i. 46.
[16] *Zurich Letters,* i. 321.
[17] Padelford, 26 f.
[18] *Ecclesiastical Politry,* V, lxvii, § 10.
[19] *Colloquia Mensalia, of Dr. Martin Luther,* translated by Captain Henry Bell. London. 1652, Bell's prefatory letter.
[20] *True Religion* (1673), *Works,* 1851, 409.

contrary to the truth, that Luther had revoked his former error, I have not had leisure to determine. In one place he did tamper with the original so far as to introduce the name of John Calvin among Luther's list of the saved. Twenty years later Milton expressed the opinion that "the Lutherans hold consubstantiation; an error, indeed, but not mortal."

Cardinal Allen was fairly safe in saying that the Protestants "denied that the sacraments gave grace and that Christ was present on the altar." [21] Cranmer, indeed, wavered, at one time stating that "as we have God verily incarnate for our redemption, so should we have him impanate." [22] But he confesses later to have changed his opinion,[23] and to believe that Christ was only present in the Supper in the same sense as he was present at baptism,[24] and that evil men do not eat his body.[25] In his *Defence of the True and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* (1550), he defended the view set forth in the Prayer Book, that there was a real presence in "the godly using of the eucharist, but that this was spiritual and not corporeal.[26]

In the Calvinistic sense, the English Reformers maintained the real presence. That is, they called the words "This is my body" a trope,[27] and denied "corporeal presence" or any transmutation of the elements; while they diligently asserted that the heavenly bread was, nevertheless, food for the soul which truly made

[21] In 1565; M. Haile: *An Elizabethan Cardinal, W. Allen.* London. 1914, p. 66.
[22] *Defence* (1550), 33a.
[23] *Works,* ed. Parker Soc., ii. 217.
[24] *Ibid.,* i. 76.
[25] *Ibid.,* i. 29.
[26] Pollard: *Political History of England* 1547-1603, p. 51.
[27] Archbishop Grindal, *Remains,* ed. Parker Soc., 195 ff.

believers a part of Christ,[28] and that the body was in a true sense spiritually eaten,[29] and that, though the elements are merely signs, yet they really nourish the soul with Christ.[30]

All the English Reformers rejected the sacrifice of the mass, though they had no little ado to explain away the fact that "al the doctours wyth one accorde cal the sacrament so ernestly a sacrifice." They could not otherwise understand them than as meaning that the sacrament is a memorial of Christ's sacrifice. That it is really no sacrifice is proved by Christ's words at the passover, "I will no more eate of it henceforth tyll it be fulfylled in the kyngdom of god." [31] Christ's oblation on the cross was, in fact, "omni-sufficient." [32] In like manner the "high mass" was declared to be a "low abomination," [33] and of course private masses were anathematized. In order to indicate their detestation of the Catholic doctrine, in Mary's reign some Protestants took a cat, shaved its head, dressed it like a priest, and hung it in a conspicuous place in London with a wafer in its mouth.[34]

The Thirty-nine Articles of Elizabeth, based on Edward VI's Forty-two Articles, which in turn were largely drawn from the Wittenberg Articles of 1536, take a rather more conservative position than do most of the doctors just quoted. Article 28 reads: "The Bread which we break is a partaking of the Body of Christ; and likewise the Cup of Blessing is a partaking

[28] R. Hutchinson, *Works*, ed. Parker Soc., 209 ff.
[29] Beacon: *Catechism*, ed. Parker Soc., 228 ff.
[30] J. Jewel: *Works*, ed. Parker Soc., ii. 1121; J. Bradford, *Writings*, ed. Parker Soc., 82 ff.
[31] Tyndale: *Brief Declaration of the Sacraments.*
[32] Preface to the *Two Epystles of Bullinger and Calvin*, 1548.
[33] J. Jewel: *Works*, ii. 625.
[34] *Diary of H. Machyn*, ed. J. G. Nichols, 1848, p. 59.

of the Blood of Christ." Transubstantiation is declared to be repugnant to Scripture and the occasion of many superstitions. The body of Christ is eaten only after a spiritual and heavenly manner. It is stated that the Sacrament is not, by Christ's ordinance, reserved, lifted up, or worshiped.

As liturgy is the most unchanging portion of religion, so the English Prayer Book keeps many of the old Catholic words, explained, at the time of its adoption, in a new sense. A prayer in the Communion Service speaks of "eating the flesh of thy dear Son Jesus Christ and drinking his blood in these holy mysteries." An oblation is made in the following words: "We do celebrate and make here before thy Divine Majesty, with these thy holy gifts, which we now offer unto thee, the memorial thy Son hath commanded." "Accept this our sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving." "Here we offer and present unto thee, O Lord, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy and living sacrifice unto thee." [35]

Taking the communion in the established church became the test of orthodoxy, and was accordingly enjoined by law. Even members of other bodies were compelled to do it occasionally. A very singular compliance with the law was allowed, in that the communion was at times permitted to be vicarious, one man taking the bread and wine for another.[36]

The divines of the Anglican Church continued to maintain the real presence, though they showed an increasing consciousness of its difficulties. Thus, Jeremy Taylor, in his tract on the Real Presence of Christ in

[35] *Prayer Books*: Communion. Practically the same in the editions of 1549, 1552, 1662, and in the Scotch Liturgy of 1637; *Tabular View*, p. 52.

[36] Frere, for period 1536-75.

the Sacrament, wrote: "It was happy for Christendom when she, in this article, maintained the same simplicity which she was always bound to do; . . . that is, to believe the thing heartily and not to inquire curiously." While devoting most of his space to argument against transubstantiation he asserts that "the symbols become changed into the body and blood of Christ, after a sacramental, that is, after a spiritual real manner." [37]

The dissenting churches mostly followed the lead of Calvin in asserting a real presence. The revision of the Articles of Religion made by the Synod of Westminster — practically a Presbyterian body — in 1647, after declaring against the dogma of the sacrifice and against transubstantiation, says: "Worthy receivers, outwardly partaking the visible elements in this sacrament, do then also inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally nor corporeally, but spiritually, receive and through faith feed upon Christ crucified and all the benefits of his death. The unworthy are said not to receive his body." [38]

The spirit of the Scotch Reformation, late and extreme, was that of Calvin, and its representative was John Knox. In 1555 he was in Scotland, after a sojourn at Geneva, preaching passionately against the mass. Four years later he had the satisfaction of seeing "the priests commanded, under pain of death, to desist from their blasphemous mass." [39] In a decree

[37] In The Whole Works of Jeremy Taylor, ed. R. Heber, 1839, vols. 9 and 10. A tract entitled "The Worthy Communicant," on the benefits of the eucharist and the proper manner of receiving it, is found in volume 15.

[38] Schaff: *Creeds,* 663 ff.

[39] Knox to Anna Lock, June 23, 1559, Kidd, 698. Smith: *The Age of the Reformation,* 357 ff.

of August 24, 1560, the Scotch Parliament abolished both papal jurisdiction and the mass, calling it "wickit Idolatrie" and providing that "na maner of person nor personis say Messe, nor yit heir Messe, nor be present thairat under the pane of confiscatioune of all thair gudis movable and unmovable and puneissing of thair bodeis at the discretioun of the magistrat." All officers are commanded to "tak diligent sute and Inquisitioun" to prevent it.[40] In the Scots Confession of the same year it is said: "In the Supper richtlie used Christ Jesus is so joined with us, that hée becummis very nurishment and fude of our saules . . . We confesse and undoubtedlie beleeve that the faithful, in the richt use of the Lord's Table, do so eat the body and drinke the blude of the Lord Jesus that he remains in them and they in him: Yea, they are so maid flesh of his flesh and bone of his bones, that as the eternal Godhead has given to the flesh of Christ Jesus . . . life and immortalitie, so dois Christ Jesus his flesh and blude eattin and drunkin be us, give us the same prerogatives." [41] One of the best established laws of heredity is that known as reversion to type; a certain individual, sprung from recently developed stock, shows the characteristics of remote ancestry. It almost seems that the ancestry of the "unco pious" Protestants at times harked back to a remoter civilization than that of the Catholics. The Calvinistic Scots' confession would have delighted Luther and Justin Martyr, and, *mutato numine,* the Thracian mystes of Dionysus.

[40] Kidd, 702.
[41] *E. R. E.,* v. 560.

XIII. THE LAST PHASE

It is significant that Harnack's great *History of Dogma* closes with the age of the Reformation. Then at Augsburg, at Trent, at Geneva, and at Westminster, were fixed the official formulas of the faith of the main Christian bodies. These formulas have been rarely set aside or radically altered during the last three hundred years; they may be interpreted in new ways, but they are not often revised. If we wish to find out what liberal Protestants or Catholic Modernists are thinking about the eucharist, we no longer find their opinions written large in confessions and public debates, but lurking in treatises on church history or on New Testament criticism. In these works we do indeed discover that Christianity has become much rationalized. The change, though silent, is so important that Ernest Troeltsch and Edward Moore, among others, are perfectly right in insisting that the greatest break in the continuity of historical Christianity came not in the sixteenth but in the eighteenth century. In this particular article of the eucharist it is safe to say that the large majority of Protestants are now Zwinglians or pure rationalists. They not only hold the bread and wine to be mere symbols but they are unable to imagine how sensible people, and particularly how Jesus and Paul, Luther and Calvin, ever regarded them as anything else.

But along with growing rationalism there has of

late been in certain quarters a strong revival and intensification of sacramentalism; a deliberate abnegation of reason in the mysteries of religion, and a deliberate cultivation of the primitive and irrational. In the Roman Catholic church the cult of the host has been plied with such zeal that Leo XIII foretold that the holy eucharist was destined to be the main object of devotion of the twentieth century; and that Pius X has done his utmost to fulfill this prophecy.[1] I have before me the *Venite Adoremus Bulletin* published semi-annually by the Dominican nuns of the Covenant of the Holy Name, 2824 Melrose Avenue, Cincinnati, Ohio, no. 1, August 1, 1916. This bulletin is published in the interest of an association for the purpose of adoring the Blessed Sacrament, which is perpetually exposed. That the association now has one thousand members is said to be "consoling proof that our Eucharistic Lord here in our midst is not without friends." "Striking examples of direct answers to prayer" are quoted, and a form of prayer prescribed in these words: "Our Lady of the Most Blessed Sacrament, pray for us," with three hundred days indulgence to the petitioner for each time that he utters it before the exposed host. The writers "know that the practice of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament is growing throughout the world."

While there has been, of course, no change in the dogmas of the Roman Catholic Church on this point, some modification of them may be found in the creed of the Old Catholics who split from the main church after the Vatican Council of 1871. In their opinion

[1] Note by J. Rickaby, S. J., in his edition of *The Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius Loyola*, 1915, p. 84.

the body and blood are truly present and the mass, though not a sacrifice, has a sacrificial character as an enduring memorial of the death of Christ.[2]

The evolution of most Protestant bodies has been in a liberal direction. In the year 1720 the Protestant Jacques Abbadie subjected the consecrated bread and wine to a variety of tests to prove that they were really what they seemed to be and had undergone no chemical change. This work was translated, as doctrine necessary to be preached, by an English evangelical in 1867.[3]

Some theologians and philosophers have tried to find new justifications for the old ways of liturgy. Thus Leibnitz found in the Newtonian theory of gravitation a support of Luther's doctrine of the real presence. If, he argued, the sun can attract a grain of sand on the earth, millions of miles away, thus acting at a distance, cannot Christ's body act at a distance on the bread, thus enabling us to partake of the Saviour's flesh and blood, even though they are far from us?[4]

For a certain section of the Lutheran church the formula of Concord has done what the Council of Trent did for the Catholics; it has bound their thought in a rigid mould. The latest orthodox Lutheran theologian, while rejecting the words "consubstantiation," "impanation," and "subpanation," and while regarding the mode of divine operation as an inscrutable mystery, accepts both the real presence and the ubiquity theory

[2] Mirbt, 437.

[3] J. Abbadie: *Chemical Change in the Eucharist,* translated by J. W. Hamersly. 1867.

[4] W. E. H. Lecky: *History of England in the 18th Century,* 1878, ii. 571. I have searched Leibnitz's works for the passage, but in vain.

of Christ's body. Jesus is present everywhere, he says, "in the unity and entirety of his theanthropic person, and *especially* present when and where he wills to be." For the author the sacred food itself has the same old magic and the Supper is called "a means of applying redemption." [5]

But while these views still obtain in the conservative Lutheran circles, especially in America, there are branches of the same church, particularly in Germany, where the great Reformer's specific doctrines have fallen into what Grisar calls "automatic dissolution" (Selbstauflösung).[6] Many German theologians now feel that there was a contradiction between Luther's principles and many of the beliefs which he took over from the old church. Thus his appeal to the private judgment annihilates his later appeal to authority; his principle of justification by faith really destroys the sacramental theory which, illogically, he attempted to impose on his followers.[7] If he denied transubstantiation he kept a miracle equally irrational; and he supported his theory of the real presence with hypotheses which a modern theologian calls "Christological monstrosities." [8] In fine, the advanced German Christian thought is now in favor of giving up the sacraments entirely, in the first place as repugnant to the teachings of science, and secondly as contradicting the fundamental ideas of Protestantism, "the Word," and faith.[9]

Whereas in many Protestant sects the dogma of the real presence has been silently abandoned, in a few it

[5] Valentine, ii, 335, 344, 356 f.
[6] Grisar, ii, 389 ff.
[7] Harnack, iii, 868.
[8] Loofs, p. 920.
[9] *R. G. G., i.* 78.

has been either officially repudiated or dropped from the creeds. The Socinians, in the Racovian Catechism of 1609, expressely rejected the Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinistic doctrines of the eucharist, and called the rite merely symbolic and memorial. The Quakers, in order to put the whole emphasis on faith, abolished the rite altogether. When Ralph Waldo Emerson proposed to do the same, on the ground that the material act was now a positive hindrance to piety, he found the Unitarians unable to follow him, and therefore gave up the ministry.[12] But though they still celebrate the Supper, the Unitarians demand no article of faith on this or any other subject from their adherents, and other churches, such as the Baptists and Congregationalists,[13] seem to be completely silent on the question of the real presence, which is doubtless answered in the negative by nearly all of their members.[14] The Christian Scientists, under the influence of the New England transcendalists, use no bread and wine in their communion, but teach: "Our bread is truth. Our cup is the cross." [14a]

In churches of the Anglican communion there is a large body of evangelical members who interpret the eucharist symbolically. Though this view still has some support among the theologians,[15] the trend of

[10] Harnack: *Dogmengeschichte,* iii, 756 f.

[11] *E. R. E.,* v, 564. *Confession of the Friends,* 1675, Schaff: *Creeds,* iii, 797.

[12] R. W. Emerson: *The Lord's Supper. A Sermon before the Second Church of Boston, September 9, 1832.*

[13] A very short Congregational Creed, with no statement on this subject, was adopted about 1912.

[14] The real presence is not mentioned in the New Hampshire Baptist Confession of 1833; Schaff: *Creeds,* iii, 747.

[14a] S. Mathews and S. B. Smith: *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics,* 1921, p. 89.

[15] G. Hodges: *Everman's Religion,* 1812, p. 247, writes: "The

prelatical opinion is now strongly in the direction of sacramentalism and a "high" doctrine of the eucharist or "mass." The Tractarian Movement of the Nineteenth century started this re-action which, in so far as it concerned the eucharist was represented by a sermon by Edward Bouverie Pusey, on "The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist," preached in 1853. In order to defend his thesis of "a real, objective presence," he published two other works, which had a considerable vogue and doubtless brought the church of England back to her sixteenth-century position.[16] Indeed, the late Frederic Temple, Archbishop of Canterbury, in a Charge to his Clergy, delivered in 1898, stated that the Anglican theory of the real presence was hard to distinguish from the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. This statement, according to Hensley Henson, now Bishop of Hereford, was received by the Anglican "Catholics," "in disgust of the suggestion that they stood in the matter of eucharistic doctrine with the protagonist of Protestantism." [17]

So far has the high church doctrine gone that an episcopal clergyman recently told me that he thought no "Zwinglian" ought to be allowed to communicate in his church. The same priest elevated the "host," communicated alone, and spoke of "the sacrifice of the mass." More extraordinary than the re-action of the conservatives is the fact that the same sacramentalism has received some support in liberal quarters. Mrs. Humphrey Ward's novel, *Richard Meynel*, portrays

sentence ('this is my body') is but a symbol, and for us a remote and difficult symbol, of participation and intimacy."

[16] *The Doctrine of the Real Presence,* 1855. *The Real Presence . . . the Doctrine of the Church of England,* 1857.

[17] J. C. Lambert, 277, note 1.

a priest who combines high liturgical practices with advanced liberal views. The best defense of this position that has come to my attention is that given by Professor Kirsopp Lake.[18] According to him the sacraments should be taken not as assertions of historical truth, but as judgments of spiritual value. There are some men, he says, who go through life seeing nothing but the happenings; there are others who see through the events a deep inner meaning. The sacraments, it is said, express the great truths of the inner life in outward form. The error in this view, as Professor Lake pointed out, lies in the limitation of such values to a few things; any experience in life might have such a value. More and more, the rationalist would add, men are finding the needs of their inner life supplied, and their value-judgments given, in poetry, in art, and in science, and less and less in the repetition of outworn survivals from a primeval state.

[18] In a lecture delivered before the Harvard Divinity Summer School on Aug. 23, 1921.

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